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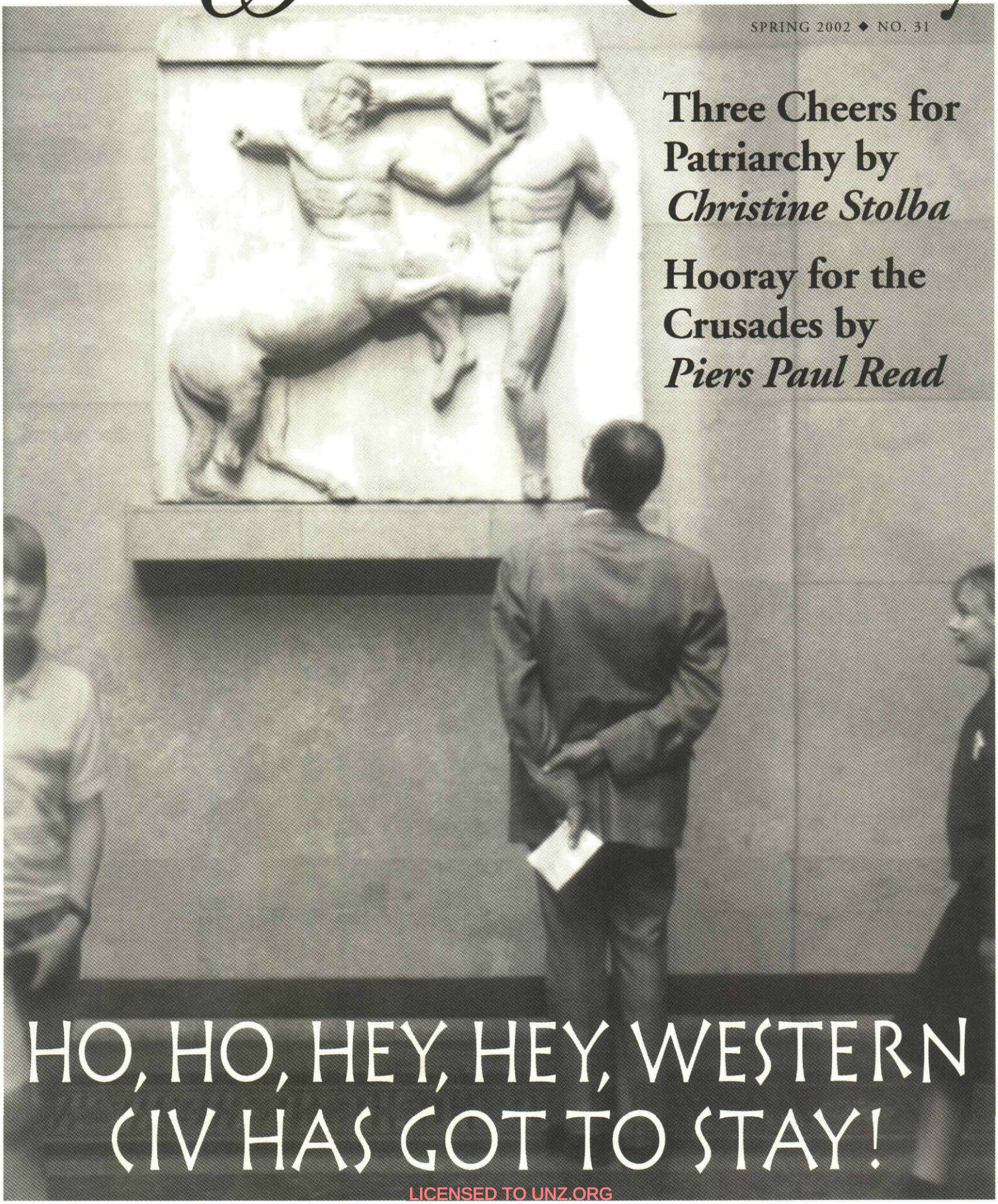

Three Cheers for Patriarchy by *Christine Stolba*

Hooray for the Crusades by *Piers Paul Read*

HO, HO, HEY, HEY, WESTERN CIV HAS GOT TO STAY!

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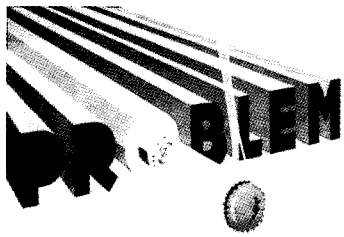
Diary



A Tale of Three Mothers

AS THE DAUGHTER of a smoker, I feel that I must take a deep breath and utter a few words in support of Johnita DeMatteo. DeMatteo is the nicotine-stained mother recently ordered by a New York State Supreme Court justice not to smoke in her house or car. The judge was responding to a complaint from her thirteen-year-old-son, Nicholas, subject of a custody battle, about the maternal puffing.

Why on earth would anybody indulge the sensibilities of an allergy-free, thirteen-year-old regarding a parental behavior that is neither illegal nor immoral and which many find pleasurable? I don't happen to be a smoker, but I'm appalled that a judge would, without compelling reasons—*i.e.*, the child is asthmatic—bar a woman from smoking in the privacy of her home and on the whim of a child.

Smoking must have been the most *risqué* thing my mother ever did, and she embraced it with gusto. I still cherish her response when I asked what mama kangaroos kept in their pouches when they didn't have babies. "Their cigarettes," my mother deadpanned.

Though a dedicated smoker, my mother was a responsible one, managing to quit puffing for her pregnancies (during both of which she also, in the same ameliorative spirit in which another mother might play Beethoven tapes to influence the child in her womb, read *Gone with the Wind*). My mother always boasted prophetically that she'd blown enough smoke in our faces that we'd never smoke.

Unless DeMatteo is a deranged alcoholic who smokes in bed and has a history of burning down houses, she has every right to enjoy whatever solace tobacco affords. The real outrage is a judge's paying too much attention to the demands of a brat. Rude, indulged children are a greater plague than cigarettes. I'd take up smoking to express solidarity with Mrs. DeMatteo, if only my mother hadn't ruined it for me.

A tale of truly selfish motherhood was told recently in a *Washington Post* magazine article. In the story, a couple, both deaf, was intent on creating "designer" deaf children through artificial insemination. Daughter Jehanne, a cute, bubbly, five-year-old with brown hair, already had been found to be profoundly deaf. As the saga begins, the couple anxiously awaits the auditory tests that will be performed when the new baby, Gauvin, is three months old and that will determine whether he "is —as they hope—deaf."

I became so swept up in the couple's quest to engineer a deaf child that, at times, I almost forgot to notice another salient feature about the parents: They were both mommies. Candace McCollough and Sharon Duchesneau asked a friend, who came from five generations of deafness, to serve as the sperm donor for both children.

"I'm loath to say it, but I think it's a shame to set limits on a child's potential," a tentative medical ethicist was quoted as saying. Loath to say it? Could that be because McCollough and Duchesneau, two "stylish" women who are "both professionals in the mental health field" (Lord help us!), belong to the Deaf culture that regards itself not as people with a handicap but as members of a minority?

One can sympathize with the hardships these women faced through their deafness—they were "grindingly lonely" in college before finding friendship at Gallaudet, the college for the hearing-impaired. But I am not loath to say that what they have done is loathsome.

Gauvin is found to be, like his sister, deaf. The mommies are ecstatic, but, slightly to their chagrin, there is some residual hearing in one ear. "Right now it's an ear that could be aided to give him a start on spoken English," the doctor informs the mommies. But this would require a hearing aid, which the mommies reject. Gauvin's minuscule hearing will probably deteriorate, as Sharon's did, and so it may be now or never if he is to experience anything of the miracle of sound—and perhaps benefit if he later lip reads.

Post writer Liza Mundy equates their decision to forego the hearing aid to the decision of a hearing family who'd jump at the chance because, writes Mundy, they'd be willing to do "anything—anything—to make their child more like them."

Of course, Sharon and Candace have us over a barrel—they've declared themselves a minority, making it seem prejudiced to criticize them. Meanwhile, there's no one to step in on Gauvin's behalf. Now, if Sharon and Candace turn out to be selfish, Deaf lesbians who *smoke*. . . .

~Charlotte Hays

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The Women's Quarterly

SPRING 2002 ◆ NO. 31

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IN *THIS* ISSUE

Diary: ***Charlotte Hays*** tells a tale of three mothers 2

Three Cheers for Patriarchy: ***Christine Stolba***
shows why patriarchy is a gal's best friend 4

Hooray for the Crusades: ***Piers Paul Read*** challenges
the conventional wisdom 7

A Field of Nightmares: Men's sports are being
kicked off campus. ***Jessica Gavora*** calls time out 9

We've Come the Wrong Way, Baby: ***Christine Stolba***
on why Title IX harms college athletics 13

Don't Watch CNBC in Broad Daylight: ***James K. Glassman***
advises us to track stocks by decades, not days 14

The Mascot Wars: Opponents of using Indian names for
sports teams are on the warpath. ***Dave Shiflett*** scalps them 16

Karlyn Bowman**'s Poll-Pourri** 18

Standing Up for Appeasement: ***Alexander Rose*** argues
that it is a mark of civilization 19

TWQ Interview: Talking Liberties with ***Nat Hentoff*** 21

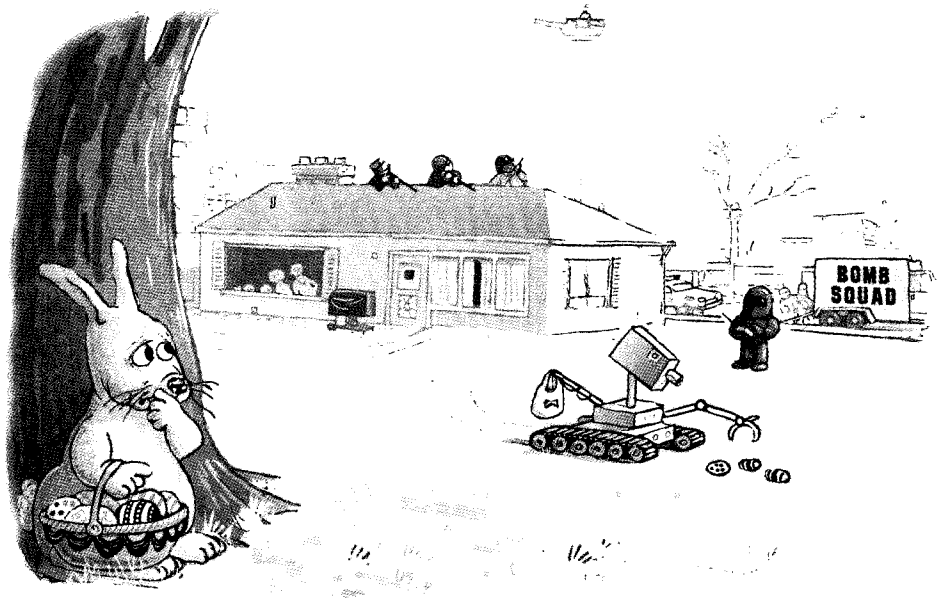
The September 11 Generation: ***Ed Goeas*** and ***Dr. Drew Pinsky***
examine a profoundly changed campus culture 24

The Token Man: ***Jonathan V. Last*** slam dunks the WNBA 27

The Threads of Our Lives: ***Sandra Miesel*** on
women knitting as the world turns 28

One Last Observation: ***Marta Hummel*** comes clean
on the subject of maids 31

Cover photo by Charles Jaffe. This bas-relief from the Elgin Marbles at the British Museum is a scene from the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, representing to the Greeks the struggle of civilization against savagery.



Cartoon by Charles Jaffé

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Three Cheers for Patriarchy!

Christine Stolba shows why patriarchy is a gal's best friend.

PRAISE FOR PATRIARCHY? Surely only a victim of false consciousness would utter such blasphemy. Any sane person with a liberal arts degree knows that patriarchy is a pernicious beast—still only partly subdued by the efforts of the women's movement—that has ravaged the talents of women for thousands of years.

But can patriarchy be as bad as some would have us believe? Defined narrowly, patriarchy is "a social organization marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family, the legal dependence of wives and children, and the reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line." This is not always the preferred arrangement in modern families. But the brief against patriarchy encompasses more than relationships inside the family.

Since everything to emerge from Western civilization bears the stamp of patriarchy, the argument goes, Western civilization is inherently suspect. If you think this sounds nutty, then clearly you, dear reader, have fallen prey to patriarchy's wiles. For as theorists such as Andrea Nye—author of *Words of Power: A Feminist Reading of the History of Logic*—tell us, because of its roots in ancient patriarchal Greece, logic itself is suspect.

So is rigorous debate. Law professor Lani Guinier, for example, who had her fifteen minutes of fame when she was nominated as attorney general by former President Bill Clinton, took Socrates to task for developing a method of instruction that, two millennia later, supposedly still wounds the self-esteem of female law students. In *Becoming Gentlemen: Women, Law School, and Institutional Change,* Guinier argues that the often-combative *Paper Chase*-style Socratic method of teaching places far too much emphasis on combativeness, which is masculine. Guinier prefers inclusive, mentoring relationships to the orgies of Socratic rigor.

Patriarchy has for some time been the star of the women's studies classroom. There, it appears as a hyphenate epithet, as in "hetero-patriarchy," or in combinations such as feminist theorist Bell Hooks' "heterosexist white supremacist patriarchal culture." University presses churn out big-ticket titles such as *Patriarchy and Incest from Shakespeare to Joyce*, and *Refiguring the Father: New Feminist Readings of Patriarchy* that document this menace.

One women's studies professor told Daphne Patai and Noretta Koertge in their book, *Professing Feminism*, "If there were no patriarchy, there would be no oppression. If there were no oppression, there would be no need for affirmative action. If there were no affirmative action, we wouldn't be here acting like pigs trying to shoulder each other away from the trough!"

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Patriarchy even serves as a convenient villain for a generation of young women who are some of the wealthiest and best situated on the planet. At the University of Oregon at Eugene, for example, students recently organized a conference called "Against Patriarchy." Conference participants engaged questions such as "How do we identify male privilege?" and "How does male domination connect to other oppressions, like racism, heterosexism, ableism, classism and capitalism, government and speciesism?"

Patriarchy—read: Western civilization—doesn't deserve this treatment. In fact, it could be argued that it's the best thing that ever happened to women. To understand how womankind has benefited from the last two thousand years of patriarchy, one must examine the status of women at the dawn of the present era.

Athens, whose name is synonymous with high cultural and philosophical achievement, did not allow women to be citizens or own property. Roman husbands were free to engage in any kind of sexual adventure, but a wife who committed adultery could be put to death—the doctrine of *patria potestas* guaranteed it. A Roman father acted as priest, judge, legislator, and, indeed, high executioner in his own household, with nary a concern for the rights of his wife and children. If this were all patriarchy had to offer, feminists would be right to regard it as the epitome of evil.

Truth be told, however, the patriarchal institution that feminist scholars most love to hate—the Catholic Church—began to make the earliest inroads into this system. First, there was the revolutionary idea that all people—including women—were precious and important beings. That was so attractive to downtrodden—truly downtrodden—women that they flocked to that now maligned institution—so much so that a pagan emperor once forbade missionaries to set foot in any pagan house where women resided—there was too much danger of conversion.

Second, women in the ancient world rarely had a say in choosing their spouses. But the medieval Church insisted that the woman's consent was of equal importance with the groom's. No, this didn't mean that there were no politically arranged marriages between royal infants or that fathers immediately ceased forcing their daughters into miserable marriages. But it did mean that there was now a new ideal, a new right of women that, over time, became a reality instead of an abstraction. Another change: Fidelity, long demanded of women, was now required from men.

Chivalry and honor codes are outgrowths of patriarchal societies that bound men to protect king and country—and women and children in the process. Knights didn't merely fight. They committed themselves to elaborate codes of behavior that included respect for women and a certain mannerly decorum. Such ideals still appeal, as evidenced by a trend in popular culture toward chivalrous and manly heroes in movies such as *Kate & Leopold* and in the public's praise of tough 'n' tender males such as former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

Some of patriarchy's supposedly oppressive strictures—particularly those surrounding questions of sex and marriage—seem more appealing than onerous compared to our modern alternatives. Who wouldn't prefer courtly love, which sprang up in an obviously patriarchal medieval Europe, to the crass hooking-up culture of contemporary times? Then, troubadours and trouvères praised the virtues of women and, as historian Jacques Barzun has argued, helped establish "in theory the rights and privileges that women deserve and that many have enjoyed in reality, beginning with respect of their person and admiration of their qualities." Today, women's qualities are "admired" in venues such as *Temptation Island* and *Maxim*; perusing *Playboy*, not penning poetry, is the more acceptable male medium for marveling at women's charms.

The evolution of legal rights for women was slow. The ancients weren't keen on granting women property rights. Why should they have been? Women were regarded as property. By the still-patriarchal nineteenth century, this had changed. Single women enjoyed the legal status of *femme sole*, giving them the right to own property in their own names and to make contracts. Married women fared differently. "Coverture," the norm by the nineteenth century, wherein women lost all independent legal status upon marriage, wasn't something any modern wife would permit. However, it was, at the very least, a small step for womankind because, unlike the ancient Roman, the husband now had a legal obligation to protect his wife. As Sir William Blackstone described it in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, the wife was under her husband's "wing, protection, and cover." By the 1830s, legal reforms in the United States extended the right to own property to married women as well, effectively abolishing coverture. While progress was slow, it was steady.

Despite their strictures (of which, admittedly, there were many), patriarchal societies didn't entirely stifle women's ambitions; many maidenly and even matronly malcontents made their mark. Eleanor of Acquitaine (1122-

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1204) is but the best known of a cohort of medieval women who scorned convention. In 1147, she and her phalanx of female attendants went on the Second Crusade to Palestine with her husband, Louis VII. Rumored to have warmed her bed with men other than the dour Louis on her adventures, she returned home and promptly divorced him, resuming rule of her hereditary lands, the valuable region of Acquitaine. After frenzied wooing from the most eligible bachelors on earth, Eleanor chose Henry Plantagenet, heir to the English throne, as her next conquest.

Her marriage to Henry was stormy, and eventually Eleanor, fed up with his royal philandering, established her own glittering court in Poitiers, where she promoted courtly love and patronized important poets of the day. The marriage produced two kings of England, Richard the Lionhearted and the less reputable John. Eleanor helped both to intrigue against Henry. When Richard was held captive in Palestine, Eleanor was a key player in English politics. She lived into her eighties, always an important figure on the world's stage.

WOMEN ALSO TRANSGRESSED the literary boundaries of patriarchal societies. Left widowed and with three children to support, Christine de Pisan (1363-1430) had the gumption to put her knowledge of Italian and Latin to work in the French court, producing poems, such as "Epistle to the God of Love" (1399), where she criticized male behavior by channeling Cupid, and prose works such as *The Book of the City of Ladies*, where she rallied Reason, Rectitude, and Justice to defend her sex against a host of charges.

Feminist theorists' attacks on patriarchy might be more palatable if their recommended replacement made any

Matriarchal utopias, though popular in women's history courses, have no basis in historical fact.

sense at all. But it does not. The most active theorists wrestling with this demon offer something far less robust: spurious theories of ancient matriarchies, for one. These matriarchal utopias, though popular in women's history courses, have no basis in historical fact, as Cynthia Eller has shown in *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory.* Other theorists become mired in semantics. A few years ago on a women's studies academic listserv, for example, a heated debate erupted over the usefulness of the term "patriarchy," with alternatives such as "gender binaries," "phallocentrism," and "phallic drift" offered as replacements.

Granted, patriarchy has taken some puzzling turns, particularly today. Participants in the contemporary American subculture of "Christian Patriarchy," for example, argue that "biblical patriarchy has provided for the greatest measure of liberation for women." Fans of Christian patriarchy extol "Jesus Christ the Bridegroom" as a "model of monogamy" for the modern man. The editor of *Patriarch* magazine (motto: "Equipping men to be godly leaders in family, church, and society") sees his mission as calling men "back to their manly duties" in the home, especially their duties as fathers. Still, questions of ecumenical etiquette aside, who could object to a movement that encourages men to become more attentive fathers?

At the other end of the spiritual spectrum are the "pioneers of feminist spirituality," as Barbara Walker describes them in her book, *Restoring the Goddess.* Walker and her ilk are less than pleased with patriarchy's past triumphs, particularly the Judeo-Christian tradition's reference to God as male. Citing the work of nameless "feminist scholars," Walker argues that they "have shown that our traditional religious organizations have been dedicated to denial or demonization of the Goddess, all the way from biblical times to the present."

In many ways patriarchal societies have made good on the promises of those medieval swains who honored their ladies. It is patriarchal societies, after all, that have produced triumphs of logic, science, art, and literature; and, for the most part, it was a patriarchal clique that developed the liberal political philosophies that led to notions of democracy, individual rights—and women's liberation. Therein lies the rub: Patriarchy was the dominant social arrangement for most of the history of Western civilization, a civilization that has produced the expressions of human freedom and individual rights that radical feminists now want to reject. ◆

Christine Stolba is a senior fellow at the Independent Women's Forum and co-author of The Feminist Dilemma: When Success is Not Enough *(AEI Press).*

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Hooray for the Crusades!

Piers Paul Read presents a radical new view.

THE PREVAILING VIEW of the Crusades has, until now, been damning. The philosophers of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, who dismissed Christian belief as superstition, ridiculed these wars fought in the name of Christianity. The Scottish skeptic, David Hume, thought them "the most signal and most durable monument to human folly that has yet appeared in any age or nation." Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, published in 1772, said they were inspired by greed, imbecility, and "false zeal." The same strain of contempt continues through Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* to our near contemporary, Sir Steven Runciman, who concluded his monumental *History of the Crusades* with the judgement that they were "nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost."

Are these judgements fair? And, more pertinently, can they be sustained by the evidence available to dispassionate historians? Following the events of September 11, it was the clear objective of Osama bin Laden—an objective aided by the careless use of the word "crusade" by President Bush—to present the Allied Armed Forces as Christian crusaders intent on destroying a rival religion, Islam. His call resonated in the Muslim mind, because the brutality of the Latin warriors in the Holy Land is well-established in the collective memory of the Arab peoples (they think of Richard Coeur de Lion as a west European might think of Genghis Khan or Attila the Hun); and because this collective memory is fused with a resentment against the "imperialistic" incursions into the Middle East of Western nations that followed the collapse of the Turkish Empire in 1918.

This pincer movement of sneering

Engraving by Gustave Doré

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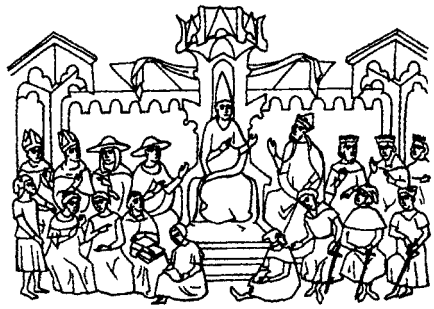
historians on the one hand and resentful Arab Muslims on the other has led to an apologetic attitude towards the Crusades by modern Christians—exemplified at the turn of the millennium by an "apology" from Pope John Paul II. It is worth noting that the Vatican's own panel of historians refused to endorse this apology, saying that it was the product of what they called "anachronism": *viz.*, judging the past by the standards of the present and therefore failing, as the conscientious historian should, to empathize and understand.

THE FIRST POINT to be made in defense of the Crusades is that they were initially a response to Islamic aggression. Islam, from its inception, had espoused the use of force. Where Jesus had died for his beliefs, the Prophet Mohammed had wielded a sword. Though Christianity was later to be exploited for political ends, the Christian religion as such had, in the first three centuries of its existence, spread peacefully—thriving, in fact, on the blood of its martyrs. I say this not to score a point in favor of Christianity but to emphasize an historical truth: The spread of Islam from the Arabian peninsula to southwestern France in the eighth century, and to the gates of Vienna in the seventeenth, came as a result of conquest by Islamic armies.

The First Crusade was a response to one phase in this Islamic expansion. Christendom was then divided into the western Holy Roman Empire—for various reasons largely led by the popes in Rome—and the Eastern Byzantine Roman Empire with its capital in Constantinople. Toward the end of the tenth century, the Seljuk Turks, fighting in the name of Islam, invaded the Byzantine Empire and threatened Constantinople. The Byzantine emperor



Pope Urban II was also skilled at spin.

called for help from the West, sending his ambassadors to a Church Council in Piacenza. The Pope, Urban II, responded with a call to arms at Clermont in France the following year.

What modern historians such as Jonathan Riley-Smith of Cambridge University have now established is that the motive of the knights who responded to this call was not greed for material benefits but a craving for spiritual ones. They believed—as do Catholics today—that the pope had inherited the powers given by Christ to St. Peter to "bind and loose" their sins—in this case to compensate them for their services as warriors by letting them off the punishment due for their sins in the world to come. The prospect of booty, and even of establishing principalities which they could then rule, was an added incentive, but at the time was hardly controversial: It was universally accepted that to the victor should go the spoils. However, the expense of mounting such a complex expedition, and the extremely poor odds in favor of survival, made material profit implausible as a motive for going to war.

Of course, nothing is black and white. It is possible that Pope Urban not only wanted to help the Byzantine emperor but also liked the idea of getting the quarrelsome Frankish knights to stop fighting one another and fight the Muslims instead. He was also skilled at "spin": To motivate the crusaders, he made their objective the liberation of the holy city of Jerusalem, already at that time a place of pilgrimage for European Christians.

The First Crusade was also marred by many atrocities such as the massacre of the Jews in the Rhineland and after the taking of Jerusalem: These were recognized as such and condemned by Christian churchmen at the time. The sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade was also a scandal, though the judgement of Sir Steven Runciman, writing post-Auschwitz, that "there was never a greater crime against humanity," exposes the irrational animus against the Christian religion of this influential Crusade historian.

It also prompts us to question whether the post-Enlightenment era of human history has been quite as enlightened as we like to think. Were the Middle Ages really so bad? We may look back with horror to the Inquisition, the Wars of Religion, and the Crusades; but do they compare so unfavorably in the scales of human suffering with the trenches, the gulags, and the concentration camps, products of the supposedly enlightened twentieth century? Today, as throughout human history, ideological zeal is often used to justify the amoral pursuit of selfish interests. We in the West may feel confident that, on balance, our values of liberty and democracy are superior to those of fundamentalist Muslims such as Osama bin Laden: But can we be wholly confident that our rulers are clear in their own minds where the demands of justice and national self-interest coincide—and where diverge? ◆

Piers Paul Read is author of The Templars, *an account of the most powerful military order of the Crusades, just published in paperback by De Capo Press.*

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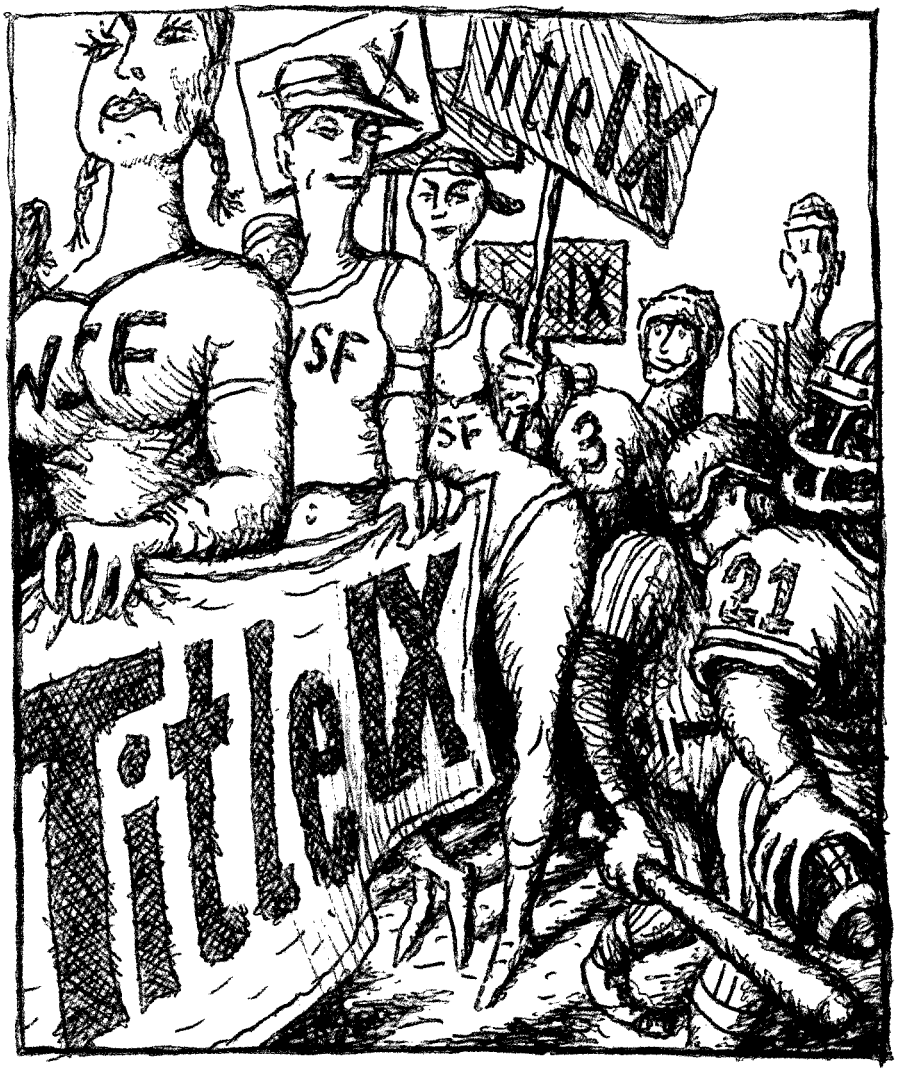
A FIELD OF NIGHTMARES

A number of male sports have been kicked off campus. *Jessica Gavora* calls time out.



Mike Scott came to Providence College in Rhode Island for one reason: to play baseball. His dad had played college ball, spent some time in the minors, and was now a high school baseball coach. The younger Scott had been playing baseball since he was old enough to hold a bat. Now he had his eye on a chance at the big time: to play in the majors.

Providence, Scott thought, was the place to begin his journey. Since joining the program as an assistant coach in 1991, head coach Charlie Hickey had worked to build the eighty-year-old Friars program into a northeast powerhouse. In the 1990s, the team began to attract NCAA tournament bids and recorded just one losing season.

A standout high school hitter, Scott briefly considered the baseball program at the University of New Hampshire. But when UNH announced that it was cutting baseball in order to comply with Title IX , a federal statute that has caused gender quotas in sports (see page 13), he turned to Providence College. And although Coach Hickey couldn't offer him a scholarship, a spot on the team and a chance to play were enough. One crisp fall day in October 1998, just two weeks into the pre-season practice schedule, Coach Hickey was summoned from the practice field into Providence athletic director John Marinatto's office. A few minutes later, he returned to the practice diamond with shocking news: The 1998-99 baseball season would be the Friars' last.

The reason was Title IX. Because Providence—like virtually every college and university—receives some federal money in some form, the school was legally bound to comply with the provisions of the law.

But Scott and his teammates were confused: What women had faced discrimination at Providence? The Catholic university had a strong program of athletics for females. Of the twenty varsity programs carried by the college, half were for women. No female athlete had filed a complaint of discrimination at Providence, and no investigation had found a pattern of discrimination that somehow had escaped a complaint. What, Scott and his teammates wondered, was wrong at Providence College?

The answer could be found in a set of statistics that Marinatto had compiled that fall and submitted to the Department of Education in Washington, D.C. The Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act (EADA) requires that all colleges and universities submit a mind-boggling array of detailed information on their sports programs, broken down by sex. Schools report the number of athletic participants by sex, the assignment of head coaches by sex, operating expenses by sex, recruitment expenses by sex, coaches' salaries by sex, and on and on. In addition, the EADA de-

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mands one statistic that has nothing to do with athletics: Schools must compile and submit the number of full-time undergraduates, by sex.

Feminist women's groups like the American Association of University Women (AAUW) pushed hard for passage of EADA—with data on the gender balance of the student body included—in order to expedite the process of bringing lawsuits against schools under Title IX. By framing the issue in terms of "equity" they were able to convince Congress to impose yet another bookkeeping burden on colleges and universities and create a taxpayer-funded database with which to pursue Title IX "proportionality." Previously, finding the data needed to bring a lawsuit under Title IX necessitated a little digging; but the EADA created a ready-made client shopping list for trial lawyers. One glance at a school's EADA submission shows a would-be plaintiff's attorney whether a school is vulnerable to a Title IX lawsuit.

When Providence College filled out its EADA form in the fall of 1998, the findings sent shockwaves through the administration. Like the majority of colleges and universities today, Providence's student body was majority female, and growing more so, but its athletic program failed to keep pace. Drawn by the security of Providence's Catholic tradition, women comprised a whopping 59 percent of all students in the fall of 1998. Female student-athletes, however, were only 48 percent of all varsity athletes. This was well above the national average of 40 percent female athletic participation, but not enough to pass the Title IX "proportionality" test. Providence had "too many" male athletes—11 percent too many, to be exact. Adding enough women's teams to meet proportionality, Providence's Gender Equity Compliance Committee calculated, would cost $3 million, a prohibitive expense for the school. Something had to give.

Seven years earlier, Providence's cross-town rival, Brown University, was sued by a group of female athletes when it attempted to de-fund two men's and two women's varsity teams in a cost-saving effort. The female athletes at Brown argued that cutting women's teams was illegal under Title IX because the university had not yet achieved proportionality—despite offering more teams for women than any other school in the country except Harvard. Brown decided to fight the lawsuit, arguing that Title IX required it to provide women equal opportunity to participate in athletics, not guarantee that they actually participate at the same rate as men. A series of adverse rulings led Brown all the way to the Supreme Court, which declined to hear the case. The result was that the rulings of the lower courts stood: Title IX was interpreted to mean that the university did, in fact, have an obligation to see that women participated in sports as enthusiastically as men. The case was a landmark in the institutionalization of quotas under Title IX. Colleges and universities across the country began to cut men's teams to comply with what the court had decreed was the correct interpretation of the law.

Thus, Providence College did what all colleges and universities are today increasingly forced to do: consult its lawyers. Their advice was direct: The only way for Providence to insulate itself from a Title IX lawsuit or federal investigation was somehow to add enough female athletes, or subtract enough male athletes, to close the gap. So instead of imposing double-digit tuition increases to raise the funds for new women's teams, Providence chose to boost the number of its women athletes artificially by subtracting from the men's side of the sports ledger.

"They were looking for three things," says Coach Hickey. "They were looking for which sports had the number of participants to cut to bring them closer to proportionality, which sports had the scholarships they could transfer to the women's side, and which sports had the operating budget they could save money on."

Providence baseball had it all: twenty-eight bodies on the playing field, seven scholarships split among them, and $380,000 in operating expenses. Coach Hickey implored the Providence administration to save baseball by allowing the program to raise the necessary funds itself. He was informed that if such a dispensation were granted, Providence baseball would also have to raise enough money to cover the creation of one or more women's teams necessary to "compensate" for retaining twenty-eight male athletes. In the end, the feasible solution was to cut, not add. By eliminating baseball, men's golf, and men's tennis and capping the number of men who competed on the remaining eight men's programs, Providence achieved "proportionality." Without the addition of a single women's athletic opportunity, the percentage of female athletes rose from 47 percent to 57 percent.

Suddenly, a season that had begun so hopefully for Mike Scott and Charlie Hickey took on even more importance. Determined to go out with a bang, not a whimper, Scott and his teammates redoubled their efforts on the playing field. Second baseman Paul Costello recalled a line from *Major League*, a movie about a faltering group of professional baseball players: "There's only one thing left to do: Win

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the whole #$%&* thing!" The team adopted it as their unofficial motto.

And Providence baseball did indeed go on to win the whole thing. The 1998-99 season was the most successful in the school's history. Scott's team won forty-three games in the regular season and then four more to capture the Big East championship. With Mike Scott setting the pace, they led the nation in hits and were ranked twenty-first in the country. At the NCAA regional championship tournament in Tallahassee, the Friars took on Florida State, ranked second nationally, to conclude their season. "We played like there was literally no tomorrow," says Hickey. But in the end, it didn't matter. The Friars lost to Florida State in the regional championship, and Scott and his teammates decided to keep their uniforms.

Feminists call the struggle for proportionality under Title IX the pursuit of "gender equity." The Women's Sports Foundation (WSF) is perhaps the strongest advocate of Title IX and "gender equity" in sports, having as its mission to "increase and enhance sports and fitness opportunities for all girls and women."

Founded by tennis player Billie Jean King in 1974 in the after-glow of her victory over Bobby Riggs in the "Battle of the Sexes," the WSF is the most powerful advocacy group for female athletes in the country. Like most women's groups, it has benefited from friendly press coverage. But unlike most women's groups, the WSF has made genuine heroes its public face: women like Mia Hamm, Julie Foudy, and Michelle Akers of the championship U.S. Women's World Cup soccer team; Kym Hampton and Rebecca Lobo of the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA); two-time heptathlon winner Jackie Joyner-Kersee, sprinter Gail Devers, swimmer Summer Sanders, and gold-medal-winning gymnast Dominique Moceanu. This strategy of capitalizing on the popularity of female athletes has made the WSF a magnet for corporate giving. General Motors and Merrill Lynch are generous supporters. Representatives of Reebok, Mervyn's of California, and the Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association sit on its board of trustees. Their support allows the WSF to rake in additional contributions at a glittering gala each year in New York City and dole out more than $1 million a year in grants and scholarships to female athletes.

BUT BEHIND the appealing image of strong female athleticism that is the group's public face, the Women's Sports Foundation pursues a relentlessly political agenda: to turn the grant of opportunity for women guaranteed under Title IX into a grant of preference. Under the leadership of its street-fighting executive director, Donna Lopiano, a former All-American softball player and the former women's athletic director at the University of Texas, the WSF has done more than any other group to convince colleges and universities that compliance with Title IX means manipulating the numbers of male and female athletes.

Lopiano, who calls those who disagree with her version of equity "dinosaurs," came to the WSF in 1992 fresh from Austin, where she was instrumental in fomenting a landmark Title IX lawsuit against her own university for its failure to achieve proportionality. Lopiano was the first to admit that Texas wasn't guilty of any bias against women, only a failing to give them the preferences she believes they deserve.

The Texas case was a landmark because up to that point, court victories won by female athletes to create Title IX quotas had been limited to mandating the reinstatement of teams that had been cut. The Lopiano-inspired Texas case, in contrast, demanded that women's teams be added to fill the gender quota. Thanks to revenues brought in by Longhorn football, Texas had a bigger women's athletic budget than any other two schools in its conference combined. Still, female athletic participation—the responsibility of the recently departed Lopiano—was stuck at around 23 percent in the early 1990s. So even though the administration was already in the process of adding two women's sports, it settled before the case got to court, agreeing to reach proportionality by the 1995-96 academic year. Additional women's teams were added while non-scholarship male athletes—who, by outnumbering female non-scholarship athletes eighty-one to one, accounted for much of Texas' "Title IX gap"—were cut.

Lopiano brought the same passion for gender engineering to the Women's Sports Foundation. Her strategy, she told reporters in 1992, was to "break the bank," forcing schools to spend so much to meet the gender quota that what she regarded as the corrupt, male-dominated edifice of collegiate sports would fall entirely and be replaced by "gender equity." And if schools wouldn't spend on athletics, Lopiano made sure they spent on litigation.

Under Lopiano the WSF has worked tirelessly to cultivate future litigants and future complainants in Title IX cases. It maintains an equity hotline complete with a staff ready to assist attorney referrals, "how-to" literature, and expert assistance on everything from the rights of local girls' softball leagues to the arcana of federal regulations. There is an online database that ranks schools according to their commitment to gender equity and allows

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users to automatically share that ranking with local media and state and federal politicians. To keep Congress and the media aware of its efforts, the WSF sponsors National Girls and Women in Sports Day. Events are staged across the country and female athletes flood their congressmen's and senator's offices to remind them of the importance of gender equity in athletics.

But the Women's Sports Foundation, however formidable, is only one part of a coalition of liberal women's groups, trial lawyers, and "gender equity" advocates and consultants for whom Title IX is the *sine qua non* of existence. The American Association of University Women focuses on Title IX issues outside sports. And the National Women's Law Center (NWLC), another major player in the battle for gender equity in athletics, provides critical legal support.

ANY ATTEMPT to change Title IX enforcement, even in a small way, will meet with great resistance from these groups. "The law means everything," says Donna de Varona, former Olympic swimming champ and WSF founding member. "Sports are the most visible affirmation of what Title IX did. But if you look behind it—if you look at the success of women in business, the success of women as lawyers, as leaders, and, hopefully, as politicians—our very lifeblood depends on Title IX."

At James Madison University, as at the majority of universities, women were a rising majority of the student body in 2000 but a lagging minority of athletes, even though JMU offered its women more athletic teams than most schools—and more than it offered its men. Lady Dukes ran track and cross-country, played basketball, volleyball, tennis, soccer, lacrosse, golf, and field hockey. They even shot archery, fenced, and swam. What they didn't do was engage in these team activities at the same rate as JMU men. The result was that in the 2000-01 school year, females were 58 percent of the James Madison student body but only 41 percent of student-athletes.

James Madison was failing prong one of the three-prong test, and Al Taliaferro knew it. So on April 2, 2000, Taliaferro, the father of a senior on the JMU women's club softball team, wrote the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) to complain. Despite earlier assurances from university officials, Taliaferro wrote, JMU had not upgraded his daughter's softball team from partially funded club status to university-funded varsity status. Using JMU's Equity in Athletics Disclosure form documenting JMU's seventeen-point "Title IX gap" as his resource, Taliaferro contended that the refusal to upgrade his daughter's team, given the disparity of participation in women's and men's athletics at JMU, was illegal under federal law. "James Madison has blatantly discriminated in violation of Title IX on the basis of sex against female athletes for many years," he wrote. The university, he demanded, must create a varsity softball team "immediately, without further delay." Either that, Taliaferro insisted, or "the college should be forced to eliminate its baseball program until it can provide equity to both programs."

The three-prong test forced James Madison officials to take Taliaferro's remarks seriously. At minimum, his complaint would trigger a lengthy, expensive investigation by federal officials that was likely to come out badly for JMU. At maximum, the school could lose its federal funding. The officials wanted to do the right thing, but they couldn't afford to increase the size of their women's sports program. While other schools in their conference offered an average of eighteen teams, JMU featured a whopping twenty-seven. Given this already full sports offering, showing a "continuing process of program expansion" for women under prong two was out of the question.

Administrators reached out to a "gender equity" consultant for guidance on what to do. The consultant, a veteran of two decades of service in the OCR, advised them that the final test, prong three, offered little protection. As long as the university had failed to achieve proportionality, parents like Taliaferro could insist—and the federal government would agree—that JMU was out of compliance with the law. And as long as they were out of compliance with the law, they must add women's teams, whether or not they could afford to.

To resolve the complaint and shield itself from future lawsuits, James Madison saw no option other than to make wholesale cuts in its athletic program. Five men's teams and three women's teams were slated for elimination at the end of the 2000-01 academic year. Over a hundred athletes, many with years of eligibility left, would suddenly be downgraded from student-athlete to plain old student. The result was that fewer opportunities to play would be offered to everyone, but they would be offered in the right proportion: 58 percent for women and 42 percent for men—a mirror image of the student body. Opportunities for women wouldn't increase, and opportunities for men would definitely decline, by 107 team positions. But with the plan, James Madison officials felt safe from future Office for Civil Rights complaints or lawsuits.

In the end, under pressure from alumni and students, JMU decided to

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reach proportionality not by out-and-out killing the teams, just by taking away all their scholarship aid. Officials eliminated scholarships in eight men's teams and four women's teams, leaving four men's and nine women's teams that receive athletic aid. The legal issue was solved, but bad feelings lingered.

Stephen Reynolds, a senior on the men's gymnastic team, was one of those who lost his aid. It was his second Title IX athletics loss in four years. Reynolds had first attended Syracuse University, where his team was cut for the same reason. He came to JMU hoping to finish his education with his new teammates. "This was my team, these were the people I saw every single day, for three or four hours a day. I didn't want to see my teammates go through what we did at Syracuse," says Reynolds. "Title IX was never meant to do this." ◆

Jessica Gavora is a Washington writer and speechwriter for Attorney General John Ashcroft. This is excerpted from her new book, Tilting the Playing Field *(Encounter Books).*

WE'VE COME THE WRONG WAY, BABY

Christine Stolba on why Title IX harms college athletics

When President Richard M. Nixon signed Title IX into law in 1972, few would have predicted that the statute designed to provide equal opportunity would have a damaging effect on college athletics, forcing many colleges to eliminate popular teams and provoking costly lawsuits by aggrieved female athletes and radical feminist organizations.

Title IX, part of a larger education bill, simply stated, "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

What happened to make this straightforward provision in the law a nightmare for college and university athletic departments?

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR), the agency in charge of enforcing Title IX, developed a three-prong test to determine if schools were in compliance with Title IX:

- The ratio of male and female athletes closely paralleled the ratio of male and female students;
- Colleges could demonstrate a history of expanding opportunities for athletes of the under-represented sex; or
- Colleges could show that the interests of the under-represented sex had been fully and effectively accommodated.

In theory a school needed only to meet one of the three prongs, but in practice, after a Title IX lawsuit called *Cohen v. Brown University* in 1991, the first—achieving statistical proportionality in athletic programs—became the best way to avoid a lawsuit or OCR investigation. In practice, of course, in a student body where boys nearly always express higher levels of interest in sports than girls and where male sports such as football have larger team rosters than women's sports such as volleyball, the proportionality test quickly became a brutal numbers game. Frequently, it was a game that colleges could not win unless they got rid of men's teams.

As a result of Title IX, in less than a decade, more than 80,000 slots for male athletes on intercollegiate teams have disappeared from college campuses. The National Organization for Women, the National Women's Law Center, and the Women's Sports Foundation have been aggressively suing colleges and universities to enforce proportionality.

During the original debate over the statute in the 1970s, some legislators worried that it might be used to impose quotas on educational institutions. The reaction was unequivocal: Then-Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana stated that gender quotas "were exactly what this amendment intends to prohibit.... There is no quota which says there has to be a fifty-fifty ratio to meet the test." They even attached an amendment—the Quie amendment—clearly stating this.

Flash forward to a legislative markup in a House Subcommittee in 1997: A debate erupted over the legislative intent of Title IX. Representative Maxine Waters, the California Democrat, declared that the purpose of Title IX *is* gender quotas; Representative Charles Canady, a Republican from Florida, disagreed, citing the Quie amendment. Ms. Waters replied, "Title IX is the biggest quota you've ever seen. It is fifty-fifty. It is a big, round quota." Unfortunately, Ms. Waters' interpretation of the statute is the one that holds sway these days. ◆

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Don't Watch CNBC in Broad Daylight

James K. Glassman advises us to track stocks by decades, not days.

AFTER SIX YEARS writing a twice-weekly financial column for the *Washington Post*, I decided to quit. I thought I was getting redundant. My pieces tried to teach investors the fundamentals, and, truth is, there is only so much to say. I had written 400 columns, and I was repeating myself. I was grateful to learn afterwards that my readers disagreed. Many of them said they missed me. They apparently liked to read over and over that they should buy and hold (it is a lesson not learned in one sitting).

But my experience points out the basic problem of financial journalism: Done well, it's not all that exciting. Television, however, needs to be exciting, otherwise viewers will change the channel and watch wrestling or Jerry Springer. So CNBC, CNNfn, FOX News, and the rest try hard to make the stock market exciting, and, in the process, they often do investors a terrible disservice.

The ticker is the trouble. It dominates the programs and sets the tone. Hour by hour, minute by minute, second by second, the anchors, reporters, and analysts on the shows obsess about what the market is doing in the shortest of the short term ("We seem to have leveled off here on the Nasdaq over the past fifteen minutes after falling in the first hour of trading"). They have to. The model, after all, is sports, and you can't imagine a sports announcer ignoring the score. But, of course, investing is not a short-term game, and the score at any moment means nothing. Instead, investing is a long-term process in which the smart players ignore the day and concentrate on the decade.

This is not to accuse the analysts of being dumb. They are not. In general, the level of financial talent on CNBC and the others is far superior to the level of political talent on the networks' nightly news programs. Neil Cavuto of FOX is the best interviewer on TV, period, and people like Lou Dobbs of CNN and Joe Kernen of CNBC and Terry Keenan of FOX are smart and conscientious, but the medium is the message here, and the main message of financial shows is that you need to pay close attention to all the little ups and downs of the market—because it all means something, even if it is hard to say what.

Here is a typical dialogue from CNN's *Moneyline*, May 11, 2001. Since *Moneyline* is an evening program that sums up the day's events, it is nowhere near as frenetic as the daytime shows, but it suffers from the same disease.

Susan Lisovicz, Reporter. The Dow and the Nasdaq closed with their weakest trading volume of the year, reinforcing investor uncertainty about the status of the economy and the mindset of the Fed. Willow.

Willow Bay, Anchor. Susan, it's fairly typical, though, isn't it, to see inves-

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tors retreating to the sidelines before a Fed meeting?

Lisovicz: Yes, it's absolutely true, but we've seen the backing and filling all week: A lot of hesitancy in the market this week [note two metaphors here: the market as backhoe and the market as person, taking on qualities in what the poet John Ruskin called "the pathetic fallacy," the illusion that things like markets react as though they were human beings] and that was underscored with the economic reports we got today. And one way you could really see it was in that low, low volume.

Willow Bay: Susan Lisovicz at the Big Board. Thanks, Susan.

OF WHAT POSSIBLE USE to long-term investors is this analysis? Zero. In fact, it is less than zero because its message is that they need to pay attention to things like Fed meetings, low volume, "hesitancy," and "uncertainty." Often, there is no decent explanation for the aggregate movement of the 7,000 listed companies that comprise the U.S. market, but that doesn't stop analysts from coming up with one anyway.

Flash back to May 18, 1995, a day on which the Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped 82 points, or about 2 percent, after rising in the previous six months by 700 points or nearly 20 percent. Why? Opined Ed Keely, manager of Founders Growth Fund: "The number-one worry is the sustainability of earnings and how strong the economy is." Peggy Farley of Amas Securities said that "profit-taking" was the culprit, while Dan Bernstein and Ross Waller of Bridgewater Associates, using a popular tautology, declared that the market fell "under its own weight." (Little did they know, but the market was embarking on the most powerful run in its history, with the S&P 500 index returning more than 20 percent in each of the years from 1995 to 1999.)

Despite the eagerness of analysts to explain short-term market movements, there is a good case to be made that such advances and declines are essentially random—but where does that leave poor financial reporters? With no story!

Trying to explain the ups and downs of share prices on a daily basis is as fruitless an exercise as trying to explain why a particular coin flip ended up heads or tails (it "fell of its own weight," guys). Investors should ignore the background noise and the fatuous explanations.

I know it's hard. The problem with stock movements is that they look like they're meaningful. In his famous 1973 book, *A Random Walk Down Wall Street*, Burton Malkiel presented a chart that appeared to represent the daily activity of a nicely behaving stock. Actually, the points on the chart were plotted strictly according to the outcome of coin flips. "The persistence of this belief in repetitive patterns in the stock market is due to statistical illusion," Malkiel concluded. In other words, even chance events look as though they have meaning, thus providing a nice living to people on Wall Street called "chartists" or "technicians," who look for such patterns in stock movements.

In his book, *A Mathematician Reads the Newspaper*, John Allen Paulos takes Malkiel a step further, noting "the surprising number of consecutive runs of heads or tails" that result from prolonged random coin-flipping (you see the same thing at the roulette table, with red and black). If you flip a coin each day for five or six years, he writes, it's likely that heads will enjoy a winning run for at least ten days in a row. What a bull market!

"With these random clumping patterns in mind," writes Paulos, "think of the standard pronouncements of newspaper stock analysts. The daily ups and downs of a particular stock or of the stock market in general may not be as thoroughly random as these H's and T's are, but it's safe to say there is an extremely large element of chance involved. One never hears of chance, however, in the heated post hoc analyses that follow each market's close."

Investing is tough enough without being led astray by the distractions of analysts looking so seriously at short-term prices driven, in great measure, by chance. What investors need to do is find great companies, buy them, and hang onto them. So what financial journalists can do constructively is help us find good companies. Sometimes, CNBC and CNN Financial offer interviews with analysts and corporate executives that provide insight into companies and industries. But rarely. Most of the analyst jabber is equally empty, concentrating on to-the-penny estimates of quarterly earnings. Here is a typical jargon-filled CNN Financial excerpt from the *Market Call* show in the spring of 2001.

Rhonda Schaffler, Anchor: Lehman Brothers is upgrading Dow component Johnson & Johnson to a buy from a market perform. Joining us on the phone is David Gruber, the Lehman Brothers analyst who made the call on Johnson & Johnson. Let's first talk about what you see going on with J&J that is causing you to raise the price target just a little bit.

David Gruber: Sure. There are two primary reasons why we raised our price target. We also raised our rating with a three market perform to a two buy rating. The first thing is, we see an improving competitive position with Procrit. And secondly we see the potential for coded stents. In addition, the valuation was attractive. Our price target of $110 is a 27.5 multiple of the next 12 months EPS of $4. That is *Continued on page 30*

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The MASCOT Wars

Opponents of using Indian names for sports teams are on the warpath. Pocahontas descendent *Dave Shiflett* scalps them.

The Washington Redskins have a new coach—who required a bribe of $25 million to take on that thankless job—but the organization remains mired in an old controversy: the team name. As is well known, Indian activists consider "Redskins" to be demeaning. The question is: Should the Skins shed their traditional moniker for something acceptable to every living being—if, indeed, such a thing is possible?

First off, it should be said that the Indians are not alone in their complaints. Just before Steve Spurrier signed on as the new coach, the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments demanded the name be dropped. It is easy to dismiss the Council of Governments, of course. As a *Washington Post* columnist put it, the council is known as "the meetingest people around"—which is to say the council is composed of chattering busybodies. Indeed, the council reportedly spent three times as long discussing the Redskins issue as it did terrorism preparedness on the day of the vote. Yet the council summed up the complaint pretty well. Carol Schwartz, the Republican chairman of the Metropolitan Council and author of the anti-Redskins resolution, says, "This degrading, dehumanizing, and racially derogatory name has gone on for too long—far too long." Takoma Park (suburban Maryland) council member Bruce Williams added, "When we have knowledge that something we are saying is hurtful to other people, it becomes malice."

As a certified relative of Pocahontas, the famed Indian princess, I am not without a cock in this fight. In addition, fairness demands that when a person says he or she has been racially offended, one can at least consider the possibility that this is true. In addition to that, it's safe to say that most people would agree that the Redskins' chief problem is not their name but their miserable on-field performance, and so we really don't care what the team is called.

What might tip many people against changing the name, however, is the nature of the opposition. Critics seem to be under the impression that their outrage should trump any reasonable discussion. What's more, their false accusations of malice are hardly appreciated. Besides that, the complaint itself is based on the insistence that any use of Indian symbolism is degrading, when in fact the intention is quite the opposite. Mascots—human, animal, and mineral—trade not on negative stereotypes, but on positive stereotype and myth.

In the Mascot Wars, as in many other cultural disputes, hysteria is the weapon of choice. Mrs. Schwartz, striking a typical posture of moral superiority, makes it clear that those who do not agree with her position are by definition happy to degrade, dehumanize, and endorse a racial epithet. This comes very close to calling opponents "haters." Mr. Williams, meantime, not only wrongly

Drawing by Sandy McClelland

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brands his opposition as malicious but has succumbed to the notion that if someone's feelings are hurt, that which has hurt them must be banned. This is the kind of reasoning that led to Santa Claus being exiled from another Maryland community event during the Christmas season.

Of course, it is worth asking if "Redskins" is truly a racial epithet. At first glance, one can sympathize with the complaint, even as one admits that the likelihood of management purposefully insulting people is obviously slim to nonexistent. As the Redskins' front office is quick to point out, the name is a reference to the old Plains Indian habit of painting the body in red clay as a prelude to battle. This squares with the team song, which goes on about scalping the enemy and other warrior skills, befitting for a game of violence, which football clearly is (I speak as a fan).

Clearly, at least to those who desire to see the thing clearly, the name is meant as a hat-tip to courage, bravery, skill, and power, as is the case with other teams with Indian names (Braves, Indians, Warriors, Chiefs, etc.). Similarly, other team names are chosen because they embody such characteristics: Lions, Rams, Eagles, and Bears—as opposed to Starlings, Goats, Skunks, and Snakes. None of this washes with the activists. From their perspective, any use of any Indian symbolism is off-limits. And so they target Red Man Chewing Tobacco, Crazy Horse Malt Liquor, and even Land O' Lakes butter, which sports a beautiful Indian chick on the box. As one activist explains, "It's demeaning to Indian women. It's everyone's image of the compliant, helpful Indian maiden whose main job is to save the life of the good-hearted white guy or to lead them across vast tracts of land to other people's territory. And to service them in between times." One has to wonder how many consumers, white guys especially, have looked at the maiden on the box and thought: You little slut. Not many, one can safely assume.

The activist's complaint is mere hysteria, and this brings us to the public policy question: Is pandering to hysterics good public policy? Why should anyone get away with demonizing their opponents to the point of denouncing them for sins they have not committed? They shouldn't, of course.

There is also an attempt to rewrite history here. Highlighting the warrior ethic runs contrary to the myth of the Ideal Indian—a myth holding that before the White Man's arrival on these shores, Native Americans lived in perfect harmony with nature and, of course, one another. That is why, for example, the famed tomahawk chop is denounced as a racist taunt and why any mention of scalping is forbidden.

Unfortunately for the activists, history teaches a wildly different lesson. Activists may want us to believe that the tomahawk chop was rare in the pre-white idyll and that it was the White Man who taught the Indian how to scalp opponents, but that just isn't so. There are various experts and studies to refer to, including the work of famed archeologist Lawrence H. Keeley. Did Indian tribes really live at peace with one another? It appears not. A survey of twenty-five tribes found that twenty of them, or 80 percent, fought continuously. In addition, the proportion of war casualties in primitive societies "almost always exceeds that suffered by even the most bellicose or war-torn modern states."

Regarding scalping, there is ample evidence that the Indians did not learn that trick from the marauding Europeans. Exhibit A is Crow Creek in South Dakota, a site found to contain 500 scalped and butchered bodies dating from around 1325. Perhaps the Indians were anticipating their corruption by the White Man.

There was also the apparently widespread practice of cannibalism. To be sure, the suggestion that some Native Americans ate one another was widely rejected for many years, even though some braver souls insisted that early digs at the Anasazi ruins in the Southwest clearly pointed that way. Yet the 1999 publication of a study by Christy G. Turner and Jacqueline Turner changed many minds. The authors pointed to sixty-seven sites in four states where cannibalism almost certainly was practiced and also reported that cannibalism went on from 900 to the collapse of the Anasazi civilization (1300). It was added that children were probably part of the feast, at least in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico.

None of which suggests, of course, that Indians have been the most ruthless people in the world. The honored ancestors lived in ruthless times and could match their opponents blow for blow, at least until they were overpowered by disease and technology. The larger point is that activists should be able to admit that when people cheer Indian symbolism, they are embracing a positive myth, not a negative stereotype. That cannot be considered, by rational people, as an act of malice, though charging malice in such circumstances is clearly malicious.

Besides that, the activists are putting strange thoughts in some minds. After hearing the Land O' Lakes complaint, who can ever look on that innocent maiden's face without wondering if she shares a certain kinship with our modern-day Monica? ◆

Writer Dave Shiflett is a songwriter and guitarist for the Americana band Floor Creak whose new CD, Time Goes Rushing By, *can be found at Floorcreak.com.*

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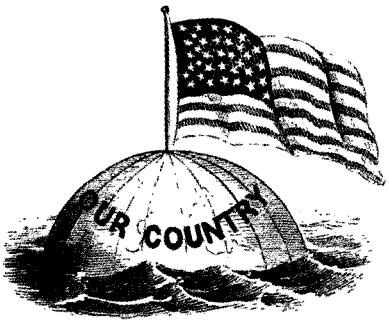
KARLYN BOWMAN'S

Poll-Pourri



We Are the World?

WHEN THE EDITOR of *TWQ* asked me whether pollsters ever ask questions about Western civilization, I was skeptical. A search of the pollsters' archives produced a single question. In a 1998 nationwide survey, 55 percent agreed that every college student should have to study the classics of Western civilization in order to graduate. An identical number said they should have to study different cultures in order to graduate.

The sponsor of the poll, the Ford Foundation, set out to examine support for diversity education. Given the survey's design, it is not surprising they found it. It began by asking whether America was prepared to meet new challenges and whether our communities were becoming more diverse. Early in the survey, 86 percent told the interviewers that people spend too much time talking about differences rather than what we have in common. That sentiment wasn't mentioned in the foundation's press release. They chose to highlight the 71 percent who believed that diversity education helps bring society together.

The surveyors hardly acknowledged the concerns of those who worry about exposing students to other cultures when Western culture is neglected or trashed. One question came close. Fifty-eight percent agreed that "diversity education always seems to have a liberal political agenda." So, too, the designers of the survey.

Proud to Be an American

THE POLLING PROFESSION doesn't ask questions about patriotism very often. But in the wake of the events of September 11, the pollsters returned to the subject, reminding themselves and the rest of us that love of country is strong. A whopping 80 percent of Americans, for example, said they displayed the American flag after September 11. Other questions revealed a country that is healthier than many on the right and left are willing to admit. Huge majorities in our deeply religious country prayed, and many thousands donated to charities set up for the victims and their families.

In June 1981, 97 percent told Gallup they were very or quite proud to be an American. The last time Gallup asked the question, in November 2000, a virtually identical 95 percent gave that response. Just 5 percent said they were not very or not proud at all.

USA, USA!

EVEN BEFORE the events of September 11, the majority of us appreciated the USA. In 1996, 55 percent told Gallup interviewers that the "United States is the greatest country in the world, better than all other countries," while 41 percent said the country was great, but that others were too. Just 4 percent believed that certain other countries were better than the United States.

That same year, ABC News interviewers used slightly different wording and found 37 percent agreeing with the statement, "the United States is the greatest country in the world, better than all other nations in every possible way," while 49 percent chose the second option, with identical wording to Gallup's. Only 12 percent selected this response: "In many respects, certain other countries are better than the United States."

When Gallup asked people to what extent they were proud to live under our political system, three-quarters indicated substantial agreement. Sixty-nine percent agreed that our system of government is the best possible.

In four questions asked by ABC News in the 1990s, more than 80 percent agreed with the statement: "Whatever its faults, the United States still has the best system of government in the world." ◆

Karlyn Bowman is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

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Standing Up for Appeasement

Alexander Rose argues that appeasement is a mark of civilization—it just doesn't work against enemies who don't share your values.

THE URGE to appease others —especially our enemies—is, perhaps, the noblest sentiment to which we can aspire. Indeed, the very idea of appeasement is the high-water mark of civilization, the triumph of Reason and Manners over a savage, fanatical state of barbarism.

The practice of appeasement has, of course, a checkered legacy. Calling someone an "appeaser" is a dreadful insult, one implying, faint-heartedness, limp-wristedness, lily-liveredness, and all the rest. This unfortunate reputation arises from the formal "policy" of appeasement, exemplified by Neville Chamberlain—the pre-World War II Conservative prime minister forever doomed to be mocked as a weak, naïve fool—in which he attempted to placate Nazi Germany with concessions. Appeasement's dismal performance at Munich in 1938, when Chamberlain sold the Czechs down the river in his, at the time wildly popular, attempt to sate Hitler's insatiable demands, provided an essential Cold War axiom. When it came to the Soviets (now replaced by the Chinese), thundered hawks and anti-communists, the "Lesson of Munich" was clear: Always stand up to tyrants, for if you yield, they will demand more and more until, finally, there is no option but full-scale war. As Jefferson counseled, it is an "eternal truth that acquiescence under insult is not the way to escape war."

Appeasement's reputation suffered yet another blow in the aftermath of September 11. The Chomskyite left, earnestly huddled around the office water-cooler at the *Nation*, tried hard to find a reason, any reason, to avoid waging war against al Qaeda and the Taliban. The palaeo-left sought to shift the blame to the United States. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were portrayed as understandable, if overly violent, reactions to arrogant American "hyper-power," capitalist globalization, "biased" pro-Israeli policies, colonialist exploitation, the U.S. withdrawal from the UN Conference on Racism in Durban, and the usual gumbo of grievances, real and imagined.

Unwittingly, but revealingly, today's left echoes those historical revisionists of the 1920s—many of whom went on to become diehard appeasers a decade later—who recast the origins of World War I in a way that diminished Germany's primary role in provoking it by declaring that all the Great Powers were equally at fault. The capitalist, colonialist international system, not the actions and decisions of individual statesmen or the kaiser, was to blame for the Great War.

New York Times-y liberal commentators were agreeably bellicose but cautious about the potential impact of the war on terror. For the most part, their concerns centered on the assumed adverse reaction of the "Arab Street" and Washington's Middle Eastern allies. In this respect, liberals ironically echoed pre-war Chamberlain Conservatives who urged restraint to avoid unduly antagonizing Herr Hitler. The unilateralist reluctance to risk inflaming underlying tensions earned them a ticking-off from the right. Rich Lowry, editor of *National Review*, wrote online: "What appeasers never realize is that it is the application of American force that makes the world amenable to our demands, and that the more powerful we seem—and the more willing to use that power—the more allies we will have."

The vast majority of people, both

Neville Chamberlain holding the paper signed by Hitler and himself on September 1938 recording "the desire of two peoples never to go to war with one another again."

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here and abroad, rightly rejected leftist and liberal appeasement and resolved on firm retaliation. President Bush, it appears, was determined not to repeat the "Lesson of Munich."

We should be careful not to conflate the *practice* of appeasement with the *idea* of appeasement, and thereby consign it, willy-nilly, to damnation.

Rather, we should readily recognize that, while the practice of appeasement in the real world has been a consistent failure, and will, no doubt, continue to be, this does not mean that the idea, or the ideal, of appeasing others' grievances peacefully is necessarily a bad thing. It would seem to most sensible people, I think, that a signal mark of a civilized mentality is to refrain from resorting to war or issuing murderous snarls the moment a grievance or disagreement is aired by the other side. Such vulgar, instinctive behavior is best left to animals and beasts like Hitler, Stalin, and the rest of their ilk. In the end, however, despite our best attempts at removing the sources of friction, the survival of civilization may well depend upon exterminating, or containing, the menace, which should be achieved with the appropriate degree of ruthlessness.

How did this dichotomy arise between the realistic appraisal of appeasement as foolish and shortsighted and the idealistic vision of appeasement as a worthy cause?

"Appeasement" is descended from, first, Latin, and later, medieval French, for "peace," or more specifically, "to bring to peace." In the fourteenth century, when, thanks to Chaucer, English was replacing French as the official and baronial language of England, the verb was rendered "apees," and amended to "appease" during the great spelling reforms of the Tudor era. At the time, when church and state were indivisible, the idea and practice of appeasement was an eminently Judeo-Christian worldview; it signified a wholesome willingness to pacify, assuage, or allay another's anger, discomfort, or displeasure from a position of either weakness or strength on either an individual or state level.

It was Machiavelli, regarded as an agent of Satan by the Church, who distinguished between the actions and motives of Christian princes as simultaneously Christian individuals (who should behave according to Biblical precepts of turn-the-cheek, all-are-brothers, do-unto-others morality) and rulers (who are not bound by such conventional codes of morality, given the nature of the vile world we inhabit). If a ruler wanted to survive amid the chaos of deadly competition, accordingly, any display of gentleness, or gesture of magnanimity, or granting of concessions, to a stately foe was folly. If a prince, commented Machiavelli, yields voluntarily to a rival, "It is for the purpose of avoiding war," a policy which will lead to disaster for two reasons: The rival's "arrogance will increase as his esteem for the prince is lessened," and "the zeal of the prince's friends will be chilled on seeing him appear feeble or cowardly" (see Lowry, above).

Post-Munich anti-appeasers tend, it seems to me, to think solely in terms of state versus state, which is why policies of appeasement appear foolhardy and naïve. Appeasers are applying their personal inclination to do good—and "bringing to peace" is a thoroughly good ideal—to the sphere of inter-state relations, where such an ideal does not necessarily belong. Appeasers, therefore, assume that others are, or think, like them; *i.e.,* that man's natural condition is of an enlightened, classically liberal kind wherein conflicting interests between two camps can be reconciled in a sort of Hegelian synthesis. "I don't see why we shouldn't say to Germany, 'Give us satisfactory assurances that you won't use force to deal with the Austrians and Czechoslovakians, and we will give you similar assurances that we won't use force to prevent the changes you want,'" Chamberlain mused to his sisters in November 1937. Their hopes, tragically, were disappointed. On September 3, 1939, the day Britain declared war on Germany, a disillusioned Chamberlain mournfully said in the House of Commons, "Everything that I have worked for, everything that I have hoped for, everything that I have believed in during my public life has crashed in ruins."

Appeasement, in other words, in the world of diplomacy and statecraft, is civilizational suicide when applied to the likes of Hitler or Stalin or Saddam or Osama bin Laden. To men—and they are all men (typical, just typical)—such as these, who plot and terrorize and murder to attain power, the right to existence is ruthlessly contingent upon the ability to sucker others into compromising with their demands in both individual and state senses. In the early thirties, Hitler, for example, expertly exploited the well-meaning desire of the British and the French (and the Americans, too, over the reparations issue) to assuage Germany's "legitimate grievances" stemming from what contemporary appeasers called the "unjust" Treaty of Versailles "imposed" on Germany after the 1918 Armistice.

These are extreme examples, of course. In practice, conducting foreign policy in the normal course of affairs rarely involves mutually loathing adversaries and more usually consists of, say, rather tedious trade negotiations between partners of varying degrees of amity. In these instances, appeasement is an unspoken *Continued on page 30*

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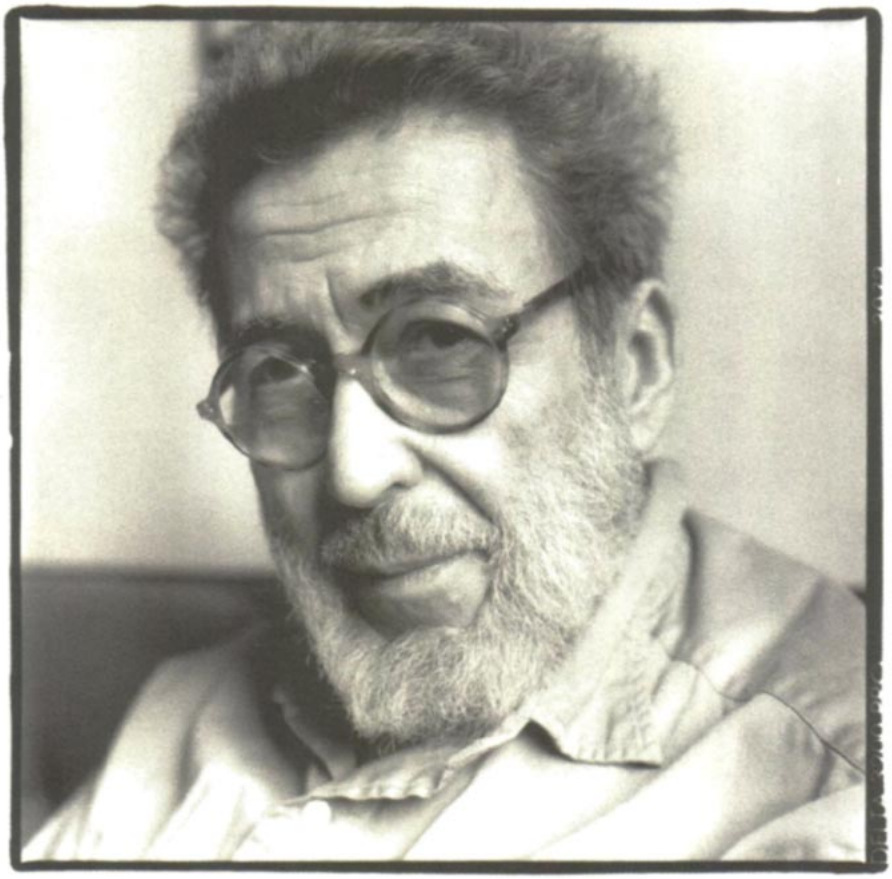
Interview

Talking Liberties with Nat Hentoff



A self-described "Jewish atheist," syndicated columnist, jazz aficionado, civil libertarian, and the Village Voice*'s resident iconoclast, Nat Hentoff has never followed a party line. A man of the left, he's infuriated his own by being pro-life. Now, he's making the right mad by attacking John Ashcroft.*

Hentoff, 76, has been a provocateur ever since, as a boy in Boston, he stood up for the neighborhood butcher who sold non-kosher meat. If there is nothing that raises your hackles in Hentoff's candid conversation with TWQ *editor Charlotte Hays, then you just aren't reading very carefully.*

TWQ: *You've been concerned about the erosion of civil liberties because of the war on terrorism. But I would argue that it's not as bad as in England during World War II when national elections were suspended.*

HENTOFF: First of all, we have a written Constitution. And it's worse, and I'll tell you why. There is much more advanced technology now than there was in World War II. We didn't have the Internet. The government was not able to read e-mails or look at what websites people go to. We also didn't have roving wiretaps. But now there's a one-stop warrant that a judge in any jurisdiction can give, and it applies throughout the country. Let's say somebody is using a pay phone. Anybody else who uses that phone becomes part of the record. If he goes to the office of a friend, that becomes part of the record. Even during World War I, when Woodrow Wilson practically abolished the First Amendment, nobody was able to do what [Attorney General John] Ashcroft has done in the USA Patriot Act.

The act even allows the FBI to get a warrant in a secret court. An FBI agent can go to a library or a bookstore and demand the names of the books that have been bought or borrowed by people suspected of involvement in terrorism. But the definition of terrorism is so broad that it could include a good many citizens, as well as non-citizens. This is unprecedented. There is also a gag order so that a librarian or the owner of a bookstore can't tell anybody that the FBI has been there. In the past, there were gag orders only when classified information was involved or when there are witnesses who ought not to be publicly identified—but people could call the press and go into court and usually win.

TWQ: *What's the alternative?*

HENTOFF: Ever since September 11, the president, the secretary of defense, the secretary of state, and the attorney general have said that we're fighting for our freedom, but that anything we do will be within the bounds of the Constitution. That is their mantra. What I've described is not within the bounds of the Constitution. Neither was that sloppily worded military tribunal order, from which the president, or rather [Secretary of Defense] Rumsfeld, is now backing away. Also, they've been reckless with the detainees, which is another word for prisoners. William

*Photo by Meg Handler/*The Village Voice

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Webster, former head of both the CIA and the FBI, is hardly soft on terrorism. He criticized Ashcroft roundly, saying that what he is doing is not the way to get information. You have to do it the hard way. You have to get more than reasonable suspicion and track these people. But they've simply locked up people. As a result, what information have they gotten out of 1,500 people detained?

TWQ: *Let me play devil's advocate. You wrote in a column that anybody who watches* Law & Order *or* NYPD Blue *would know something about the rights of people who are arrested. When I watch those shows, what I see is people getting off on technicalities.*

HENTOFF: Oh, let me answer that one. [NPR reporter] Nina Totenberg was interviewing Justice Brennan once, and, playing devil's advocate, she asked a similar question. Brennan rarely raised his voice, but he really blew up. He said that these technicalities are what make us a free nation. Technicalities are what the First, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments are all about. Technicalities are the basis of our system of justice. Due process is the most important technicality. Ashcroft ought to sue the University of Chicago Law School and get his tuition back.

TWQ: *Why do you think Ashcroft is doing this?*

HENTOFF: I think he is utterly sincere. What was it that Justice Brandeis said—that we have most to fear from people who are sincere but without understanding, passionate but without understanding. Ashcroft has never been known to have much concern for civil liberties. As the chief law enforcement officer of the United States, he is contemptuous of the Constitution. I think he is utterly honest in what he's doing; he just happens to be ignorant. And that should get the FBI adding to my file.

TWQ: *We need information from the detainees. What should we do? Maybe some of the information that led to alerts came from them.*

HENTOFF: Maybe, maybe, maybe. This is the dumbest way to get information. Dragnet arrests, detainees. Is this the way to get people inside the Muslim community to talk? They're scared to death. A number of them have overstayed their visas or have other technical violations, but some of them are very opposed to the Muslim extremists. They don't speak out against it in those cities where the mosques have been taken over by the extremists, but they would talk if they weren't afraid of the FBI coming in and putting them in prison for an indeterminate time for a technical violation.

TWQ: *What should we be doing?*

HENTOFF: Consider the people who went on trial in New York in the two bombing cases. Consider the Oklahoma bombing case. Finding these people wasn't an easy job, but the law enforcement officials did it the hard way. I have a lot of respect for those members of the FBI who really investigate people instead of simply collecting data. Investigating is not scattershot like mass arrests. I'll quote one of my favorite civil libertarians, Congressman Bob Barr, who is certainly a certified conservative. He is so far beyond the Democrats, the cowardly Democrats in both houses who, except for Russ Feingold, wouldn't speak up. Barr was on top of this from the beginning, and he says that this is the most massive violation of civil liberties in our history, and it's going to come back to haunt us.

TWQ: *The World Trade Center bombing trial may have let out information that was useful to Osama bin Laden. He probably learned about our surveillance. At any rate, as Judge Robert Bork has noted, after the trial, we didn't hear from him until September 11.*

HENTOFF: The fact that we didn't hear from him is the fault of the CIA. Bin Laden left a trail as wide as a truck all through Sudan and parts of other countries. People knew what was going on, but we just didn't know how to connect the dots.

TWQ: *What about John Walker Lindh? Is the government doing the right thing?*

HENTOFF: I think so. This guy may well be disturbed, but I rather empathize with the family of the guy who got killed, Mike Spann. Was Lindh just sitting there? It's hard to prove that he was a member of al Qaeda, but he was certainly in hostile action against us. Maybe you do a psychiatric evaluation, but if it turns out that he is responsible for his actions, he should go away for a long time.

TWQ: *What about the detainees in Cuba?*

HENTOFF: Go through the process. Separate out those, if there are any, who should be covered as prisoners of war, and then say the rest are unlawful combatants. I doubt if we'll find any POWs, but don't just throw them in a big bunch without doing anything. That's the hastiness which comes, in Ashcroft's case, out of ignorance.

TWQ: *What do you think about Donald Rumsfeld?*

HENTOFF: I'm impressed. I didn't think I would be. But he seems to be a realist, not necessarily a *realpolitik* realist, but a decent guy who has a very difficult job and who has some sense of proportion. Rumsfeld has the authority to write the regulations of these military tribunals. He has improved them to some extent but not nearly enough.

I think Bush is doing a good job in terms of the war overseas. But Bush has been tone-deaf on civil liberties his whole life. He was the chief executioner of the United States in Texas. And if you

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were indigent and didn't have a lawyer, he allowed people to be held in prison for weeks and months before they could get a lawyer. He didn't care. So why would he care now? My wife has a good point about him. When he focuses, he's very good. And that's why, as a commander-in-chief abroad, he's been very effective. He knows what to delegate but gives his people the broad idea. But he's never concentrated on the Bill of Rights.

TWQ: *Right now you're taking some flack from the right because of your position on civil liberties.*

HENTOFF: I usually get it from the left.

TWQ: *Yes, because you have been against abortion. How much have you been ostracized? How do people treat you on a day-to-day basis at the* Voice?

HENTOFF: When I first came out, as it were, in the 1980s, three of the women editors at the *Village Voice* stopped speaking to me—but that was not a total loss. And I can't prove it, but it does seem that the students who decide who gets invited to speak on campuses don't want any pro-life speakers, even though I agree with them on a lot of other things.

I got into just as much trouble when I wrote that contact tracing of people who had HIV or AIDS should be mandatory. I knew about a good many women in East Harlem whose husbands or companions had AIDS or HIV and slept with them without telling them. This caused a lot of tragedy. Then Nettie Mayersohn, a member of New York's State Assembly, proposed that mothers must be tested for HIV so their children can be treated. The whole establishment on civil liberties issues descended on us—the ACLU, the pro-abortion people, etc.—and said, "You can't mandate that, counsel them, etc." Finally the bill went through, and as a result of the testing, the incidence of HIV infection of infants of mothers who have HIV has gone down dramatically in New York.

TWQ: *What do you think about freedom of speech on the campuses?*

HENTOFF: It's been a bad scene since at least the late eighties. I blame the faculty and the administration. There's a wonderful book called *The Shadow University* by Alan Kors and Harvey Silverglate, which goes into great detail on how political correctness works. First of all, administrators seem to think that somewhere in the Constitution is a right not to be offended. This attitude filters down to the students. There is so much repression of any kind of real free speech that might offend. And this kind of conditioning is very troubling because here is the next generation of professors, journalists, lawyers, whatever. It's a very bad scene on campus.

TWQ: *But do you think it's getting better or worse? I keep thinking that, with columnists like you and John Leo pillorying these foibles, maybe things are improving.*

HENTOFF: I'll tell you who has had enormous impact and they do it by indignant exposure and persistence until they embarrass the administrators—FIRE [Foundation for Individual Rights in Education]. FIRE is the greatest thing that's happened to the college campus in years, decades. They are effective. I'm on their board, and I get all the correspondence, and I see the changes they've made. What makes them effective is they never give up. Thor Halvorssen, FIRE's executive director, is the most stubborn person I've ever known. Another encouraging sign is the new executive director of the ACLU, Anthony Romero, who called Thor, and they're going to work out some kind of collaboration.

TWQ: *I didn't know you were involved with FIRE. That surprises me.*

HENTOFF: If you look at the board, it's the most unusual cross-section of people on the left, the right, whatever. And that was the idea because conservatives, in the classic sense of that term, are very much for free speech. In fact, many of the pieces that I've done on suppression of newspapers at colleges—stealing them, burning them—have concerned controversial articles in conservative campus newspapers. And usually that has resulted in a lot of born-again free speech students on the conservative side.

TWQ: *I want you to assess Lynne Cheney, who was one of the early members of the Independent Women's Forum.*

HENTOFF: I am much taken with her intelligence, her wit, etc., and I'd like to see her run for office. I'm a big admirer of Lynne Cheney. She'd be an interesting secretary of education.

TWQ: *What do you think about the junior senator from New York, Hillary Clinton? How is she doing?*

HENTOFF: Well, I have to admit a prior bias of enormous proportion. Still, except for rolling her eyes during one of those presidential speeches, she seems to be conducting herself in such a way that the senators seem to accept her. I've yet to see any kind of action on legislation that means anything. I remember during the presidential campaign and before she was touted as the smartest woman in the world, or at least in the United States. Well, I've never seen any evidence of that. I don't think she's very bright at all. I think she's like her husband in that she can absorb a lot of information and then come through with very glib unsubstantial notions that don't work.

TWQ: *Do you think that she'll be president?*

HENTOFF: Oy vey. That's my answer. ◆

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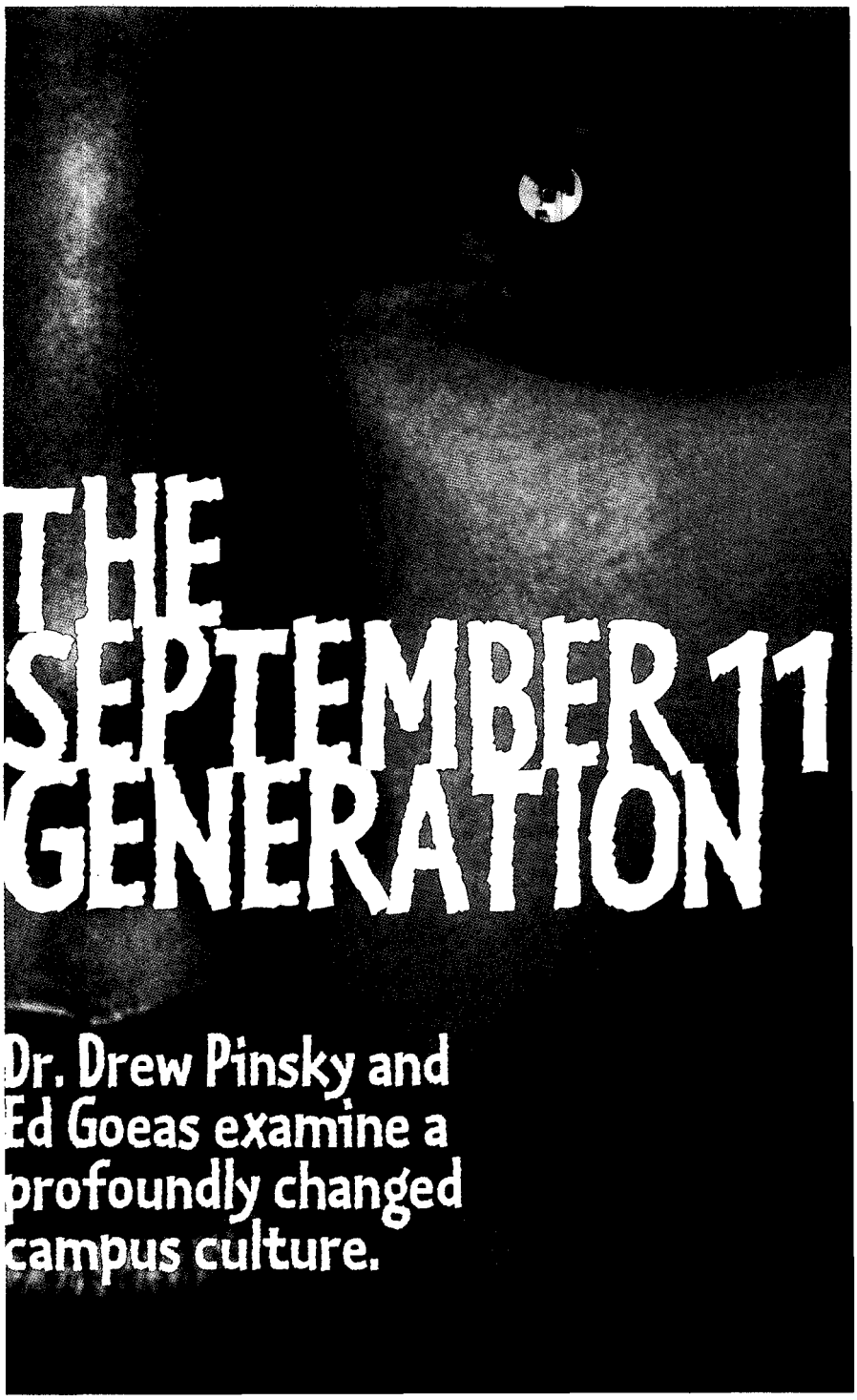

Is it possible to argue that the sixties actually ended in the explosive tragedy of September 11? A new poll of college students suggests that this may well be the case. The data indicate that college students were changed by the events of that day, in ways that may spell doom for the selfish boomer values that have long dominated society. Nearly every student surveyed said that he had been affected by September 11—some had changed their behavior, even praying more or volunteering more. Personal responsibility was rated as one of the most important values.

Most surprisingly, the students, members of one of the groups most self-identified as liberal, gave President George W. Bush high marks—65 percent said they were glad Bush is president; a mere 18 percent still pine for Al Gore.

This could have an interesting impact on American politics for years to come.

The Tarrance Group conducted the poll for the Independent Women's Forum. The data were compiled from 600 telephone interviews with students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Responses to the survey were gathered between January nineteenth and twenty-fourth.

Ed Goeas, president of the Tarrance Group, and Dr. Drew Pinsky, internist, author, addictions expert, and host of Loveline, *the popular radio show, commented on the poll at the National Press Club.*

ED GOEAS

President Bush said in his State of the Union address that the age of the "Me Too" generation is over. The findings of this poll may be an early sign that the president is right and that a real change is taking place as a result of September 11.

We learned from the poll that September 11 had a substantial impact on the students surveyed. In fact, 22 percent said it had a "profound" impact on their lives. Another 44 percent described the impact as "noticeable," while 30 percent said there had been only a "slight" impact. Still, if one out of every five students changes his approach to life because of September 11, then there is a real question of what the long-term impact will be as these young people move through life.

When we asked more specific questions, we saw that the students may have been even more affected than they realized. Many said they had changed their behavior: 32 percent reported that

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they spent more time praying; 22 percent spent more time studying; and 24 percent spent more time volunteering.

We also questioned students about their feelings, asking students to rate their emotional responses on certain matters. On a scale of one to ten, the highest response was compassion for the victims, followed by gratitude for their blessings and determination to protect their country.

NEARLY ALL WANTED TO CHANGE the direction of their lives. The majority—58 percent—said they wanted to be more involved in the community, volunteering more, helping more, while 11 percent said they were more motivated in their personal lives and would work harder and study harder. Another 10 percent said they would appreciate more what they have and the people around them. And 10 percent said they would be more compassionate.

Two values scored highest: personal responsibility and the value of family. In fact, each had an over 90 percent response that these were important in their lives.

Patriotism, volunteering in the community, and religion all garnered more than 50 percent. In every region of the country, religion was seen as important by 50 percent or more with the exception of two regions: Religion dropped to only 25 percent in the west and 39 percent in the northeast. Two-thirds of self-identified conservatives said religion was either "extremely" or "very important." Among self-identified liberals, this dropped to 38 percent.

We also asked about President Bush's job approval, and the answers were interesting: 75 percent approved of the job he is doing as president. Another 70 percent, when asked if they approved of Bush as a person, said they did. Given 41 percent of the students "strongly approve" of the job Bush is doing, there is some real intensity behind these numbers.

This is a good indicator of Bush's standing in the future; 64 percent of the students both approved of the job he was doing and approved of him as a person. Only 14 percent disapproved of him on both measurements. So George Bush has benefited and has a strong base of support among these students, which is fairly interesting when you look at the ideological leanings of the students.

A lot of people compare George W. Bush to George H.W. Bush at the end of the Gulf War, when he, too, had high ratings that later plummeted.

The difference is that the Gulf War came along after George H. W. Bush had been vice president for eight years and president for two years. Any benefit he received for his image as a leader, based on the Gulf War, was only a small part of how the public viewed him.

But September 11 came along with a very new president. It is such a substantial part of how they now view and define George W. Bush; it has created a connection with the nation that three presidential campaigns costing several million dollars could not create.

When asked the question, "Are you a conservative or a liberal?" in another recent Tarrance Group poll, 61 percent of the country said they were conservative, and 33 percent said they were liberal. In this poll, 39 percent of the students said they were conservative, and 55 percent said they were liberal, which just reinforces the strength of George W. Bush's job approval numbers.

A certain amount of this, of course, is rallying around the flag. But is it going to have a lasting effect? One of the things we see in politics is that statistically, if a new voter votes for the same party in three consecutive elections, about 78 percent will remain with that party for the rest of their lives.

This trend is rarely talked about, but it is real. This generation may turn out to be different from the one before it, which didn't tend to vote for the same party three times in a row—they may have voted for Perot, then Clinton or perhaps Bush, then Perot, and then Clinton. They will probably vote independently. With this group, however, if their voting is consistent through three consecutive elections, this could be one of the long-lasting results of September 11.

DR. DREW PINSKY

I WENT ON THE ROAD about a week or so after September 11. And the first thing I noticed was young people didn't want to talk about it, didn't want to deal with it. When I asked them questions about September 11, their response was, "No. Please, I don't want to go there. It's affected me enough. I want to talk about something else." They want their lives back. If anything, this attitude has become even more entrenched in the last few months. It's almost as if they want to return to the naïve ideas about the world they held before September 11. We can all identify with this—I wish it were September 10, too.

They also reported feelings of being overwhelmed. They were already under a tremendous amount of stress prior to September 11. The economy is a question mark, and the bar they've set for what's success and what's not is very high. Plus they have questions about their own safety. Young people talk to me about trying to manage college while their family is elsewhere or their cousin has just been shipped off to Afghanistan.

The other thing that they talk about

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is what they call "pulling together." This raises a point for me: They have difficulty talking about their subjective experiences. This is characteristic of adolescent thinking. They can't tell you how they got there or why they are there or how it's changed. It's just their life. It's just how it is. So, for them to have insight into their perception is difficult.

For instance, survivor's guilt was ranked very low by respondents in the survey. And yet when I talk to a group of college students, the issue of survivor's guilt is paramount. If you asked them, "Well, do you feel uncomfortable? Do you feel like you're sitting in the Ivory Tower? Don't you wish you could do more?" "Oh, absolutely, yes." Well, that's survivor's guilt. "I feel awful for those people in New York. I feel awful for my relative going to Afghanistan. I feel awful for the guys in Guantánamo Bay. I have it okay."

THE "PULLING TOGETHERNESS" is really an increasing sense of community. Their sense that wrong has been done to their community is at a higher level. They are behaving in a way that is documented in anthropological literature of how people feel when they perceive there is an enemy.

I've seen this clinically too. I run a drug and recovery center, and I see a lot of people whose choices reflect this newfound perception. They want to get it together. The numbers bear this out among college students too. I see a decrease in partying, an increase in studying, and an increased emphasis on personal responsibility.

As interesting as what is in the study is what is *not* manifesting itself. You might wonder what other reactions might be happening—reactions that we would expect to see. You don't see rage, vindictiveness, or infantile reactions.

While it's changed their outlook, and it has had profound effect on them, they say it hasn't changed their career plans. I just had an experience with some high school kids last night here in Washington. I asked one girl, "What about your career? Does it change how you look at it?" Her reaction was "What are you talking about? Why? What do you mean?" Maybe it has changed their plans, but they can't really articulate the changes. In fact, if you said, for instance, "What were your career plans two years ago? What are they now? Are they different?" they may not be able to tell you the reason they are different is because of September 11, which is really fascinating.

The attitude of students has shifted from a sense of entitlement to one of gratitude.

But let me tell you, from dealing with young people, I think they have changed. I was on *Oprah* over the summer and we were doing a piece on the quarter-life crisis. The quarter-life crisis at that time was of inflated expectations not being met. Young people had a sense of entitlement and bloated expectations.

They felt entitled to meet these expectations and felt depressed because they didn't get the six-figure job or couldn't understand why these things weren't being handed to them. I don't hear that now.

They are still quite bullish, and, according to the data, 72 percent said they believe they will be employed within three months. They still have expectations that may be a little out of line with reality. But they talk about employment as opposed to massive success. That's not the way they used to talk.

Their attitude has shifted from a sense of entitlement to one of gratitude. Gratitude is specifically something they seem to connect with. While they felt highly entitled a year ago, and maybe even in September, it has quickly changed. It's hard to know how much of this might have been already underway by virtue of the changing economy and social trends.

If you look at one of the questions from the Tarrance poll—"Who are your heroes?"—you notice a change. I happened to be involved with some studies fifteen to twenty years ago asking similar kinds of questions. In 1982, if you asked that question, the highest trust rating would go to an FM disc jockey.

Now, their heroes are teachers, academic advisors, emergency service personnel, and leaders. Fifteen to twenty years ago, those were people who were distrusted. I find it profound that teachers and academic advisors led the group. They were the leading heroes in their communities.

We see an increase in prayer, study, and volunteerism. I'd love to know what the content of their prayers is. I would speculate that they are praying for the safety of their families. I believe they would be thankful in their prayers: thankful for their safety and thankful for what they have.

They still are engaged in the same outward behaviors. They are still hooking up. If you look at it from where we have been and what it suggests for the future, this study speaks loudly. It goes well beyond the numbers when you interpret and listen very carefully to what young people are saying. ◆

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The Token Man

Why White (and other) Women Can't Jump

Jonathan V. Last slam dunks the WNBA.

The Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) kicks off its sixth season this month, and the sports-positive feminism machine is already cranked up. Since its debut in 1997, the league has endlessly trumpeted its slogan— "We got game"—and relentlessly pushed the idea that the women of the WNBA are just as good as the guys in the NBA. Which is bunk.

They turn the ball over, they don't dribble or pass well, and they can't shoot. Not to put too fine a point on it: Whoever wins the WNBA championship this year would get blown out by most of the country's top high-school boys' basketball teams and every Division I men's basketball team.

Which, of course, isn't their fault. There are physical differences between men and women that are fairly undeniable. Men are taller, weigh more, and are stronger and faster than women. And this includes even women at the peak of physical condition.

Take the 2000 Olympics in Sydney. Marion Jones went into the games as the most ballyhooed female sprinter in history, and she made good on her promise, winning gold in both the 100 and 200 meter events. But how do Jones' times stack up against high school boys from, say, New Jersey?

In the 100 meters at last year's state championship meet, Jones would have finished fourth. (At the Olympics Jones won in 10.75 seconds; the boy who was state champ in New Jersey last year ran a 10.30. In the sprint world, a 0.45 second difference is like winning by three touchdowns.) She would have fared no better in the 200 meters: Her Olympic time would also have put her fourth in the state at that distance.

Mind you, nothing against Marion Jones. She's a hard worker and a great athlete. But all through the Olympics she was labeled "one of the fastest human beings on the planet" by Nike and the gender-equality sportscasters at NBC.

The hyping of both Jones and the WNBA is an ugly bit of feminist proselytizing that grew out of the gender equality movement championed by Colette Dowling and Nike's discovery of the women's sneaker market in the early nineties. Given the chance, the mantra goes, women are just as good at men's sports as the guys are. In a Gatorade ad typical of the ethos, Michael Jordan and Mia Hamm go head-to-head in a montage of different sports (including judo) and come out—tied!

The idea behind this girl-power schtick is that the spectator is supposed to watch sports and not notice the differences between men and women athletes.

And if you do notice, you're a sexist pig. But this notion insults male athletes and patronizes the women it's trying to flatter. Even worse, it fails to recognize that some sports are better suited—from an aesthetic point of view—to men. And some are better suited to women.

Most sports are defined by a unique physical parameter. In baseball, for example, it's the ninety feet between bases. In basketball, it's the ten-foot rim. Within these confines, people play different species of a sport. A bunch of 5'10" men—or women—don't play a lower quality of basketball than the men in the NBA, they play an entirely different game. And if we were honest about the WNBA, we'd admit that it's an inferior game.

But there are lots of sports which have evolved to the point where the women's game is actually better—which is to say more pleasing to watch—than the men's version. Take tennis. The men's game today is so dominated by power that it's often boring and doesn't allow much actual shot-making. But because the women aren't quite as strong and don't hit the ball as hard, they play tennis in a very pure form. While they couldn't beat the men head-to-head, women play tennis the way it was meant to be played.

The same can be said for a host of other sports. In both soccer and hockey, men are now so fast and strong that the bounds of play aren't big enough to give them room to work. Women, on the other hand, are just the right size and strength to have dynamic, beautiful games.

Gymnastics have always taken a *vive la différence* attitude. That's why men compete on the rings and pommel horse and the women compete on the balance beam and uneven bars. It's not that women couldn't perform on the rings or men couldn't handle the beam—it's just that they wouldn't do it the right way.

None of which is to discourage Jones from running or the ladies of the WNBA from hooping it up; they should play the sports which make them happy. I just wish they would leave the sloganeering out of it. ◆

Jonathan V. Last is the online editor of the Weekly Standard.

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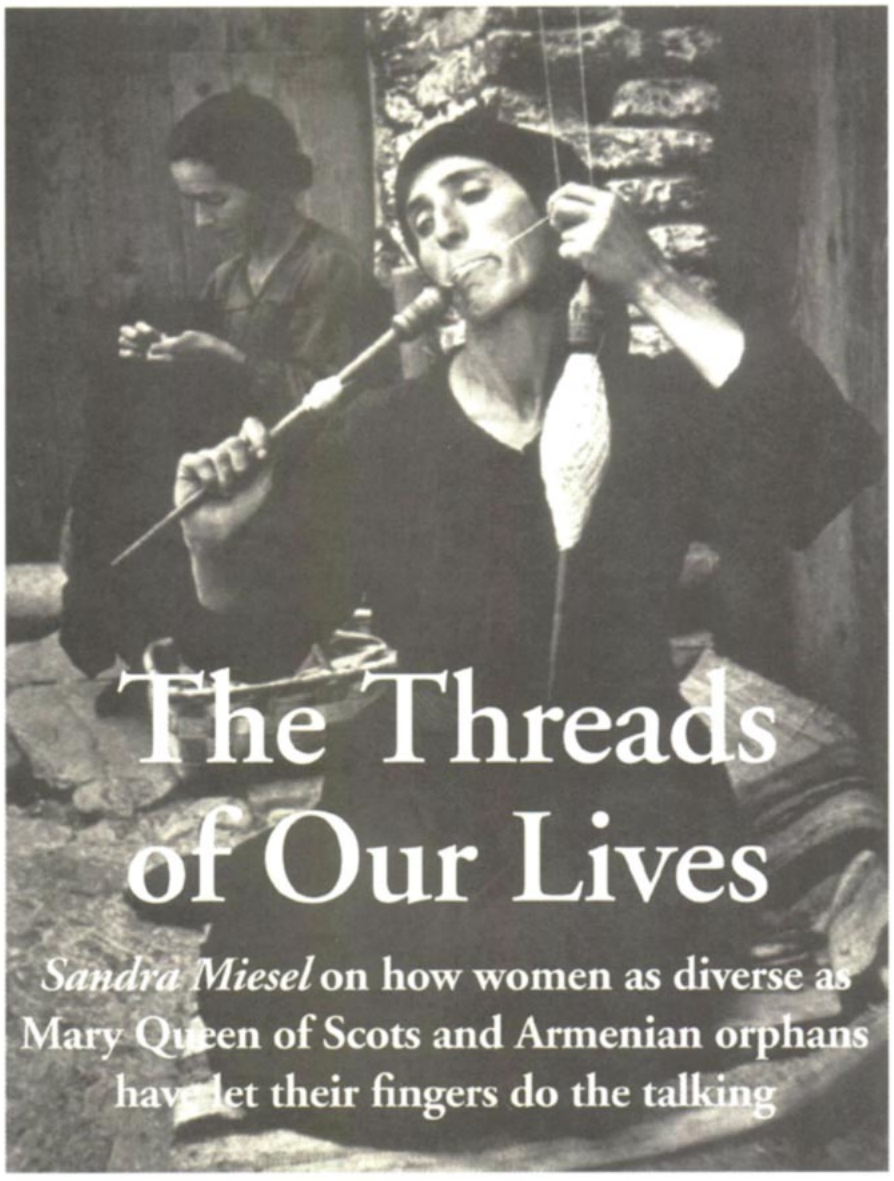

The Threads of Our Lives

Sandra Miesel on how women as diverse as Mary Queen of Scots and Armenian orphans have let their fingers do the talking

The Fates knew it, the Valiant Woman of the Bible knew it, and countless pioneer women in America knew it: Women and thread go together. Because fiber has been part of our lives for at least 25,000 years, our history could be written in thread as well as ink. Of course, what women knotted, stitched, or wove with those threads has varied so wildly across time that no more than a few small swatches can be stitched together here.

Needlework has long been an occasion for sociability. It seals the bond between mothers and daughters and among friends. The old-time quilting bee is well remembered, although most quilts were actually solo products. The spinning bee, an evening gathering for work and gossip in early modern France and Germany, was so much fun that clergymen objected. They feared that women away from their homes at night must be up to no good.

Items of handmade needlework remain customary gifts for friends and family. They're a favorite expression of charity, whether socks for soldiers, layettes for poor infants, or afghans for the homeless. Thread holds memories, for instance in the friendship album quilt, a collective gift where each square was made and signed by a different woman.

Needlework also has provided solace for women who could control their fibers but not their fate. Needlepoint was "occupational therapy" for Mary Queen of Scots during her long captivity. (She encoded subversive messages into her needlepoint. A cat she embroidered had ginger fur not unlike Elizabeth's red hair and toyed with a poor mouse. A treasonous emblem of a heavenly hand pruning away a barren branch—Elizabeth—sent the Duke of Norfolk, with whom Mary was negotiating marriage, to his death.) Brave Armenian women and girls kept on making lace while their people literally were being slaughtered in the streets outside. American women doggedly stitched their way through the Depression.

Because spinning is the quintessential female activity, Eve was often portrayed as a spinner. The Valiant Woman of Proverbs worked with willing hands and was thus the ideal Hebrew wife: a skilled craftswoman who produced for both home and market. This provident needleworker used her earnings to buy a vineyard.

As the New Eve, the Virgin Mary was supposedly spinning precious scarlet and purple wool for the Temple when Gabriel came calling. In art the Virgin spins, winds wool, weaves, embroiders, and knits—always superbly. An angel even brings her food and drink while she weaves in one late medieval German painting. The tools she is seen using tell us what implements were available to women in the past. For instance, scissors first appear in her workbasket in paintings around 1400.

Of course, these charming pictures don't reflect the reality faced by medieval and early modern toilers in the fiber trades: No angels brought them snacks. Needle skills were admired in ladies of leisure—matrons of means,

 Photo by W. Eugene Smith/TimePix (Spain, 1951)

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nuns, and thrifty housewives—but not in women who had to support themselves. Men who wove or stitched could eke out a living, but women couldn't. They were conveniently rated as unskilled artisans.

Although women couldn't live on needlework alone, they could bring in extra money with it. As supplementary income it was important to the "economy of expedients" that kept many poor families alive. That's why educational schemes for impoverished females emphasized stitchery. Irish crocheted lace, Clare embroidery (floral embellishment in colored thread for garments), and Ayrshire whitework (an exquisite form of white-on-white embroidery) were invented to support starving women in nineteenth-century Great Britain. This century has seen Armenian orphans knotting lace, Appalachians sewing quilts, Peruvians knitting sweaters, and many others set to work through charitable initiatives.

Not surprisingly, some poor women decided to turn to prostitution instead of stitchery. Then, by sad irony, prostitutes confined to the London workhouses or the Magdalen Refuges in Europe were taught fibercrafts—the very skill that hadn't been able to keep them from the street in the first place.

The relentless stitching that filled Victorian homes with knickknacks of dubious merit made another kind of statement. Such needlework was the fruit of "useful leisure" and carried an implicit boast about middle-class ease and privilege. All those meticulously made flowerpot covers, tea cozies, hair-receivers, and dust cloth holders proclaimed that the makers had ample time on their hands.

Humbler folk have also used needlework to advertise their gentility. The Pennsylvania Dutch used to hang a "show towel," a masterpiece of stitched linen, in front of the rough towel actually used to dry hands. Italian immigrants in America accumulated fine handmade bed linens, their sign of prosperity, despite disapproval by Progressive Era social workers, who thought this a waste of time.

Throughout history, women have stitched patriotic and political messages into their wares. One familiar example is Dickens' Madame Defarge, knitting into her handiwork the names of those she dooms to the guillotine. During the American Revolution, women produced flags and patriotic motifs and often refused to use imported British fabric. Homespun garb was worn even by the wealthy as a political statement.

The early nineteenth century was awash in eagles and portraits of Founding Fathers worked in all available media down to rug hooking. The Centennial, the Bicentennial, and every war have generated patriotic needlework projects. A church group in Iowa has been making red, white, and blue quilts for families of September 11 terrorist victims. American crafts also reflected America's widening role in the world. Taken to Hawaii by missionaries, the New England quilt picked up Polynesian motifs circa 1850 and went native, becoming a favorite local craft in the Islands.

During World War I, Belgian lacemakers worked anti-German symbols into their delicate and deluxe craft. The so-called "war lace" they were permitted to sell during hostilities also kept them from starving.

When their countries were under Soviet domination, émigré Estonian knitters, weavers, and embroiderers, as well as Ukrainian cross-stitchers, viewed their handicrafts as a way of keeping their national consciousness alive. Romania, Hungary, and Slovakia are among the post-Communist regimes working to revive authentic local needlecrafts as signs of renewed national vitality. The crafts had grown somewhat shoddy under communism.

Too rigid an insistence on "purity," however, can spark silly controversies. In the nineteenth century, elite Danes told the rural poor to practice purely utilitarian crafts—they had no business decorating their dwellings at all, much less with embroidery designs from hated Germany. Belle Epoque Prussians kept crochet out of schools as an un-German craft, unsuitable because it was "not invented here."

MEMORIAL STITCHERY has lately become a favorite tool of protest because quilting lends itself to presenting large, punchy graphic symbols. Women in Chile used three-dimensional fabric collages called *arpilleras* to protest life under Pinochet; Bosnian women embroidered mourning banners to honor the men slain at Srebrnica; and the AIDS quilt is the old "album quilt" stitched large.

Many purposes have come together in thread across the ages. But when not worn down by harsh necessity, modern American women have stitched simply for pleasure. The Industrial Revolution freed women from having to spin and weave yet some continue to ply these ancient crafts "from sheep to shawl."

Enthusiasm alone couldn't guarantee quality. And needlework did respond to fashion, hitting low points, such as the Victorian "Berlin work" craze. Using colored, graphed patterns that originated in Germany, middle-class women needle-pointed aniline-dyed yarn into images of florid flowers or noble beasts, creating acres of future moth food. After each decline came an unlooked-for renaissance. Women with gifted fingers keep appearing. We now have the

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wherewithal to make any needlecraft ever known—and make it splendidly. The finest work is finally getting its due as art.

These days patchwork quilting is a popular metaphor for women's lives because it involves assembling scraps of experience into meaningful patterns for a useful purpose. This comparison is valid enough but wouldn't have originated without quilting's current status as America's most popular needlecraft. Many who see this similarity presume that quilting connotes simplicity, thrift, and collaboration. But historically, bed quilts in colonial times were luxury goods and our best contemporary examples are sophisticated works of textile art. Few quilts recycled used fabric and most have been solo productions.

It's truer to say that all our fibercrafts bear the mark of the hands that made them. The humblest rag rug or crochet potholder is as much a piece of some woman's life as a silk-embroidered cushion or a tablecloth of knitted lace. To study, preserve, restore, reuse, or carry on such work is to honor the memory of women whose threads have spun our world. ◆

Sandra Miesel stitches and collects needlework in Indianapolis. Her embroidery skills once landed her a spot on an official NASA artists' team.

Continued from page 20 assumption, especially when "bringing to peace" countries with distinct cultures and political considerations is the goal. Since it is natural for states to have different objectives, there will always be roadblocks and obstacles to finding a friendly solution, but appeasement on both sides can help remove them. In this case, being anti-appeasement—or doggedly refusing to make concessions for fear of being exploited or suckered—can be hazardous: After all, the alternatives are not either a shameful peace with a totalitarian megalomaniac or a Clausewitzian war to the death. Rather, both sides naturally seek to fulfill their primary aims but realize that they must necessarily surrender some of their secondary ones during negotiations that will be mutually beneficial.

For the Stalins and Osamas of this world, however, there is no such thing as a quid pro quo. They are tyrants and ideologues whose sole concern is imposing their Nietzschean will to power upon the weak, the uprightly bourgeois, the decently intentioned. Moderation, gentility, compromise, a willingness to exhaust peaceful alternatives before embarking on war: These civilized concepts are alien to the annihilationist mind, which remains locked into a late nineteenth-century Romanticist straitjacket of all-or-nothing.

But the urge to appease is a noble sentiment, even if its actual application has often been sadly misplaced or badly misjudged. Appeasement shows us what we can be, or at least what we should aspire to be, and that it is possible to strive to overcome the exigencies of brute, worldly Power through personal morality and adherence to such abstract principles as Honor, Reason, Fidelity, Mercy, Trust, and Equity.

In the real world, of course, the idea of civilized morals overcoming the practical prerogatives of power remains a fantastical one. Perhaps, in the end, the best we can do is try to reconcile the two; that is, temper our ability to dominate with our desire to appease. ◆

Alexander Rose is the Washington correspondent of Canada's National Post. *His forthcoming book,* Kings in the North: The House of Percy in British History, 1066-1489 *(Weidenfeld & Nicolson), appears in July.*

Continued from page 15 a 10 percent premium to S&P and a 9 percent discount to the pharma industry.

What does this mean? Do the folks at CNN really care whether their viewers understand? I doubt it. Again, the key is the scoreboard. If Gruber's upgrade moved the price of J&J up a little, then that's news; he's scored a touchdown, or at least a field goal, and CNN wants to talk to him. If you are an investor considering J&J (and I love the company), what can you glean from such a report? Perhaps you'll peer a little deeper into Procrit, but whether J&J is a buy or an outperformer is of no concern to you. Instead, look closely at J&J's history, its balance sheet, its current earnings, and its product line.

In fact, the best rule for daytime financial television is this: Don't watch it. The messages it sends are all wrong, and they focus your attention in the wrong direction. Instead of prices—the obsession of these shows—you should concentrate on businesses.

At the *Washington Post,* I tried to persuade the business editor to stop running the stock tables. Run them on Sunday if you must. Anyone who really needs to know the price of a stock can get it online, but most people don't need to know, and they shouldn't be tempted to look. "If you aren't willing to own a stock for ten years, don't even think about owning it for ten minutes," Warren Buffett once wrote. So why look at the price every ten minutes?

By the way, the *Post* still runs the stock tables. ◆

James K. Glassman, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is back at the Washington Post *and is host of the website* TechCentralStation.com. *This is reprinted with permission from his new book,* The Secret Code of the Superior Investor *(Crown Business).*

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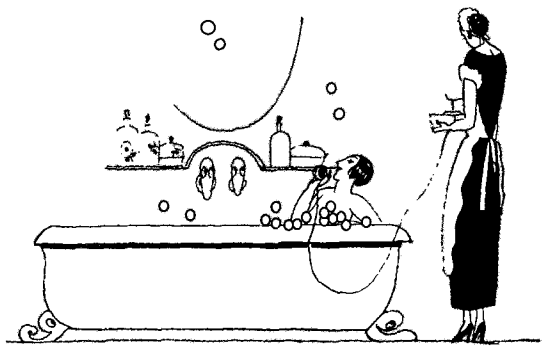
One last observation . . .

The (Lost) Joy of Housekeeping

Marta Hummel comes clean on the subject of maids.

When I was young, and my mom was angry with me for making a mess, she would always say, "Who do you think I am, your maid?"

Well, now I am grown up, and so are my mess-making friends, and many of us still want someone else to clean up after us. Except now we pay people to do what our mothers did out of love and a sense of duty. In fact, housekeepers are a weekly or bi-weekly necessity for many women, like manicures.



My age group, Gen X, feels no moral obligation to clean. I haven't heard the phrase "cleanliness is next to godliness" since childhood, even though we are more obsessed with creating a germ-free environment than our forebears.

While I was growing up in the eighties, only the well-to-do had servants, and even then, the subject was alluded to with slight embarrassment, as if it was something they shouldn't mention—out of propriety to their less-lucred friends. But there was also the sense that it was somehow wrong.

From my perspective, this unease was caused by the fact that cleaning was considered an onerous but important chore, part of the "You make the mess, therefore you clean it up" mentality. It had to do with personal responsibility more than dirt. In this light, hiring a cleaning lady seemed almost immoral—and certainly decadent.

This discomfort was reflected in hurried last minute dusting, sweeping, and bed-making on the maid's appointed day. As a friend of mine recently remarked, "I never understood why we had to clean before the cleaning lady came. My mother would never tell me why, it was just a fact." It was almost as if a dirty home was a personal failure. The act of tidying up appeased the conscience.

I don't know anyone who cleans for the maid now. The days leading up to her (it is still usually a her) visit are a steady decline into disarray. As my friend Jen noted, "If I have a dinner party on Saturday, I will leave the dishes in the sink until Thursday, when the cleaning lady comes. I'll rinse them—so it's not gross—but I don't clean them."

So dirt has morphed from moral blemish to commodity, and with it a market has been born. A recent search for "maids" in the Yahoo Yellow Pages directory listed 210 cleaning services in New York City, my former home. This does not come close to indicating how many housekeepers make a living in NYC, as most are self-employed.

They are not cheap either: Eighty dollars for two hours in a one-bedroom apartment is not uncommon. This is New York City, where space is at a premium. We are not talking mansion. And as most professional maids insist on cash, the government is most likely not taking as much as it would like.

While I am unsure when dirt made the leap from moral obligation to business venture, the ubiquity of cleaning services speaks to the fact that cleaning is considered an important service—like getting your hair cut or your clothes dry-cleaned. Or your nails polished, if the bodega-like proliferation of manicure shops speaks to their significance.

I couldn't find anyone among my women friends who thought it questionable to have a maid. For those who didn't hire them, the usual response was, "I don't have a maid service but if I could afford one I would." Still, one friend told me she enjoys cleaning and looks forward to it—at least occasionally. She told me that she derives satisfaction from cleaning, that it is nice to start with a huge mess and then turn the place around.

Some people may still feel that cleaning is a morally purifying activity, but for most of us, dirt has evolved into a neutral realm. I suppose that we are all the cleaner for it, but somehow it doesn't feel right. ◆

Marta Hummel is a writer who has just moved to Evanston, Illinois.

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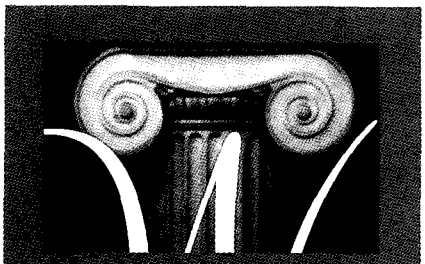

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